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ABSTRACT

This study examined the quality of teachers' work lives, teachers' job satisfaction, and the relationship between teachers' work experiences and their wider network of life experiences. Age was used as a key explanatory variable in each phase of this analysis. Data analyzed were from three sets of national surveys: (1) the 1969 Survey of Working Conditions and the 1973 and 1977 Quality of Employment Surveys; (2) the 1971 and 1978 Quality of American Life Surveys; and (3) the National Longitudinal Surveys of Labor Market Experience, 1966-1977. Teachers' responses to questions were compared primarily to the responses of other college educated workers. The questions related to: (1) work motivation; (2) the frequency and severity of work-related problems; (3) job satisfaction; (4) job mobility and security; (5) adequacy of fringe benefits and pay; (6) the impact of working conditions upon the well-being of workers; and (7) satisfaction with life as a whole. Conclusions are offered as hypotheses to be tested by further research. A bibliography and two research papers are appended to the report; one paper is a critical analysis of mid-life developmental theory, while the other discusses the relationships among teachers' needs and aspirations and the quality of their employment. (JD)

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FINAL REPORT

The Mid-Career Malaise of Teachers: An Examination of Job Attitudes and the Factors Influencing Job Satisfaction in the Middle Years

Contract No.: NIE-G-81-0004

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ABSTRACT

This study examines the quality of teachers' worklife, teachers' job satisfaction, and the relationship between teachers' work experience and their wider network of life experiences. In each phase of the analysis age is employed as a key explanatory variable. We adopted this approach because many studies have shown that age is one of the best predictors of attitudes toward work and also because many adult developmental psychologists have posited that adults go through a series of life stages, each of which had important implications for one's career. The data we have analyzed are from three sets of national surveys: (1) The 1969 Survey of Working Conditions and the 1973 and 1977 Quality of Employment Surveys; (2) the 1971 and 1978 Quality of American Life Surveys; and (3) the National Longitudinal Surveys of Labor Market Experience, 1966 - 1977. Our study is comparative in that teachers' responses to questions are compared to the responses of other workers as a means of placing the experience of teachers in proper perspective. The questions relate to work motivation, the frequency and severity of work related problems, job satisfaction, job mobility and security, adequacy of fringe benefits and pay, the impact of working conditions upon the well-being of workers, satisfaction with life as a whole as well as with the major domains of life experience.

In brief, we found that teachers report being very satisfied with their work, with life as a whole and with most of the major domains of life experience. Though most teachers report being satisfied with their marriages, divorce and separation are not uncommon. Satisfaction with

family life is the most important determinant of life satisfaction and fragmentary evidence suggests that for younger teachers, but not older teachers, satisfaction with work is also an important source of satisfaction with life. Furthermore, we found that among teachers under 35 years of age, job satisfaction depended upon matters directly related to teaching, while among teachers 35 years of age and older job satisfaction seemed to be related to factors extrinsic to the educational process.

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INTRODUCTION

In recent years it has become commonplace to note that the quality of teachers' worklife is in decline and that many teachers are dissatisfied with their jobs. Declining enrollment, budget cuts, inflation that has eroded the purchasing power of schools, and rapid social change that has thrust upon schools functions that have traditionally been the responsibility of the family are often cited as factors that have made teaching more stressful and dissatisfying. Today, the popular and professional literature is replete with articles that characterize teaching by such terms as tension laden, exhausting, and unrewarding. Though this literature is, for the most part, confessional rather than empirical in nature, our direct encounters with teachers in classes and workshops lent credence to the popular image of teaching as a stressful occupation in which morale, job satisfaction, and the quality of worklife are relatively low. Further evidence of the validity of this image is the popularity of and high attendance at stress management workshops that seek to help teachers deal with the phenomenon of burnout. All of this suggested to us that teachers may be genuinely dissatisfied with the quality of their worklife. Discovering whether in fact teachers report being less satisfied with the quality of their work experiences than do other occupational groups as well as evaluating the determinants of teacher job satisfaction were important goals of the present study.

Studying the quality of teachers' worklife is especially relevant today because in recent years the demographic profile of teachers has undergone a fundamental change: since 1970 the mean age of teachers has risen sharply. Whereas in the quarter century before 1970 the majority of teachers were young, today ever-larger numbers of teachers are middle-aged. The implications of an aging population of teachers are uncertain, but our review of current adult development research and theory suggested to us that this rapidly growing field might provide a useful analytic framework for our study of teachers' attitudes toward their work. In our review of the literature on teachers' worklife and job satisfaction we noted that age as a variable is conspicuous by its absence. Chiriboga and Cutler (1980), in a recent comprehensive review of stress research, also report that the age factor has been ignored.

Though the adult development literature is not firmly grounded in empirical research, the work of Levinson (1978), Vaillant (1977), and Rubin (1979), among many others, suggests that middle age is for some a time of considerable stress that may be reflected in the attitudes of teachers toward their work. Representative of adult development research is the work of Levinson. Through an analysis of life histories and literary sources, Levinson has developed an elaborate theory of adult psychosocial development. He posits that there are four developmental periods over the life course -- childhood and adolescence, early adulthood, middle adulthood, and late adulthood -- each separated by a transition period lasting four to five years during which important psychosocial changes often occur. All developmental stages and the transition periods that inaugurate them are important, but the most problematic developmental period is middle adulthood. According to Levinson, this period evokes "tumultuous struggles within the self and the external world" and may be a "time of severe crisis" (p. 199). Since work is an important aspect of life for most adults and since a person's worklife cannot be understood out of the context of the rest of his or her life, the psychosocial changes associated with middle adulthood must be considered in connection with one's worklife.

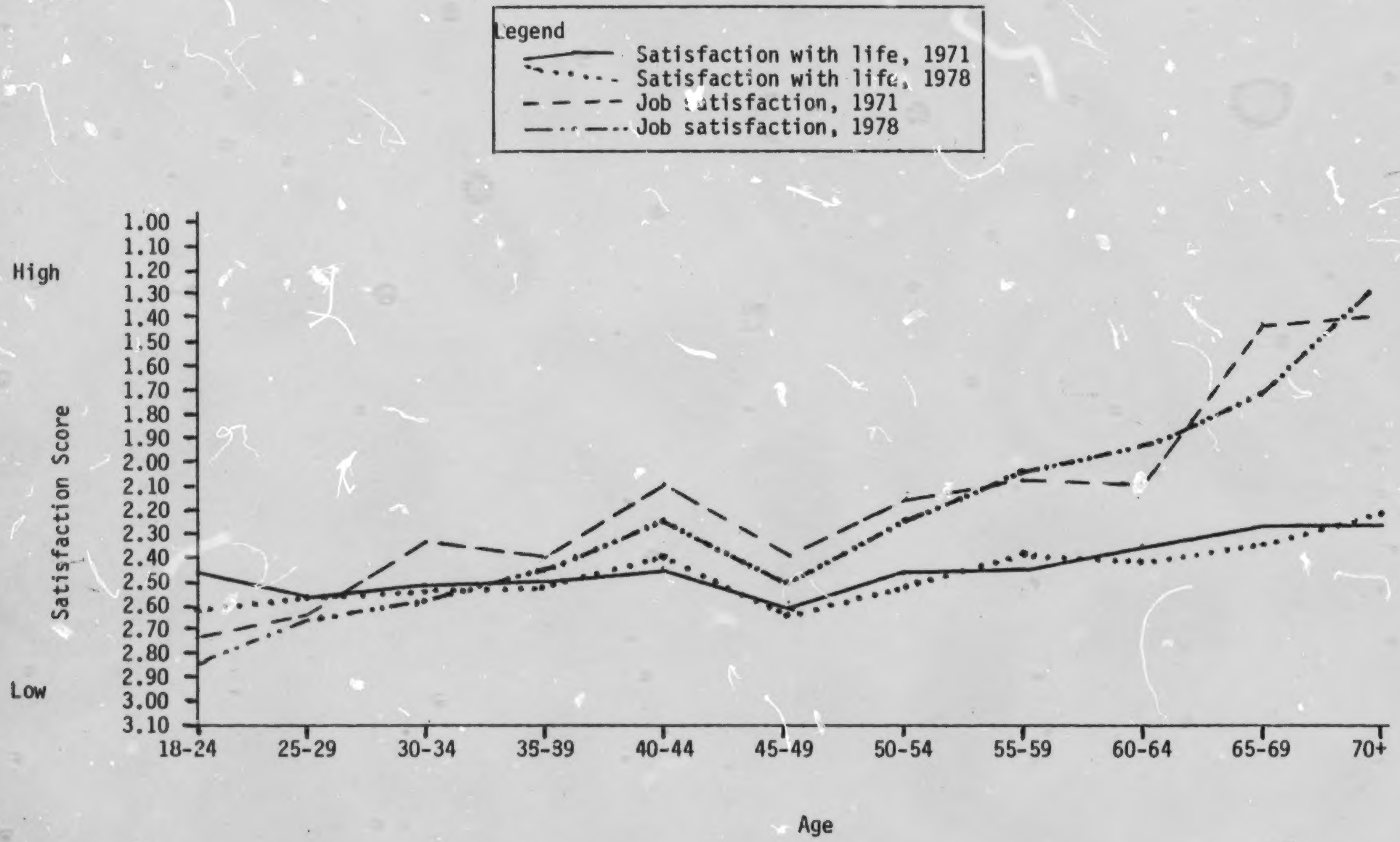
Therefore, it struck us that the dissatisfaction many veteran teachers express with their work may be related to the psychosocial changes that are thought to characterize middle adulthood. We were thus led to hypothesize that some teachers may experience a phenomenon that we have labeled "mid-career malaise." We use this term to refer to teachers who have lost their vitality, whose careers have "plateaued" or "stagnated", and who are generally dissatisfied with their work and their lives. Determining the extent of this phenomenon and ascertaining whether it is age related are two questions that have guided our research. If, in fact, middle-aged teachers who are generally in mid-career tend to report relatively low levels of job satisfaction or life satisfaction, we would have empirical evidence in support of the concept that middle age is often a period when people become bored, restless, and generally unhappy with their job and their life. Evidence such as this could also have important practical implications for teacher career development programs and for adult education programs.

At the outset of our work we sought to determine whether the decline in life and job satisfaction that many adult developmental psychologists argue is associated with middle age could be substantiated by analysis of cross-sectional survey data. To shed light on this question, we used data from the 1971 and 1978 Quality of American Life Surveys to plot mean life and job satisfaction scores for eleven age categories. Figure A displays the results of this analysis. It reveals that the overall upward trend in satisfaction scores over the life course is punctuated by a sharp decline in both life and job satisfaction scores during middle age (45-49 years old). This finding is in general agreement with current thought in the field of adult developmental psychology. Since the sampling base of this analysis is large (1971 survey N = 2,164; 1978 survey N = 3,691) the chance that this satisfaction profile could be due to chance is quite small. Moreover, there is much evidence to indicate that the survey instruments that serve as the basis of this finding yield reliable and valid affective measures (Campbell et al., 1976). We therefore tentatively concluded that use of an analytic framework based upon adult developmental theory to explore the structure of cross-sectional survey data is appropriate and could yield valuable insights.

In addition to assessing the perceived quality of teachers' worklife and exploring the level of and the determinants of teachers' job satisfaction by age, we were interested in the relationship between teachers' work experience and their wider network of life experiences. As already noted, there is much evidence that an individual's attitudes toward work are related to his experience with other aspects or domains of life. Attitudes toward work, then, should not be studied in isolation; they should be examined in light of one's total life experience. For this reason in addition to assessing the quality of teachers' worklife and evaluating their satis-

Figure A Satisfaction with Life and with Work, By Age

Source: 1971 (N=2164) and 1978 (N=3691)
Quality of American Life Surveys



faction with work, we decided to assess their satisfaction with other important domains of life experience, such as marriage and family life, friendships, residential environment, financial situation, and standard of living. Of special interest to us is the relationship between job satisfaction and life satisfaction among teachers.

As we reviewed the literature that dealt with teacher job satisfaction, burnout, attitudes toward work, and stress, we noted that little effort has been made to compare teachers with other workers. As a result, little is known about teachers' attitudes toward work compared with those of non-teachers. This is unfortunate because without a comparative perspective it is difficult to evaluate teachers' assessments of their worklife. For this reason we have, in the analysis that follows, compared the responses of teachers with those of men and women working in other occupational groups. At times we compare teachers with men and women working in the major occupational groupings defined by the U.S. Department of Labor and typically used by social scientists. These include the following occupational categories: professional and technical; managerial and administrative; sales, clerical, craftsmen, operatives, laborers, and service workers. At other times we compare the perceptions of teachers to those of the total sample of survey respondents and to those of college educated non-teachers (CENTs). We use the latter group for comparative purposes because they share with teachers a characteristic that has been shown to be an extremely important determinant of behavior: professional education (Campbell et al., 1976). We favor comparing teachers to CENTs over comparing them to professional/technical workers because we found that many professional/technical workers are technicians who are not college educated and who do not develop career patterns, expectations, and modes of occupational behavior that are characteristic of professionals. Of course, not all college trained people conform to these expected characteristics, but preliminary analysis of selected data bases revealed that the vast majority of college graduates work in occupations that are comparable in many ways to teaching but that only a bare majority of professional/technical workers do.

Our efforts to study comparatively teachers' perceptions of the quality of their worklife, and the relationship between their work experience and their lives outside the school within the context of adult developmental theory were guided by the following set of research questions:

1. What are the general demographic characteristics of teachers? How do these characteristics compare with other professions?
2. What are teachers' attitudes toward their work? How do these attitudes compare with those of other professionals?
3. How do teachers' attitudes toward their work relate to job satisfaction? How does this relationship compare with other professions?
4. What is the relationship between age and job satisfaction, and age and attitudes toward work?
5. What are the characteristics of the work environment of teachers? How do these characteristics compare with other professions?
6. What is the relationship between teachers' work environment and their satisfaction toward work? How does this relationship compare with other professions?
7. What is the attitude of teachers toward their non-work life (marriage, family and their relative importance to work, use and quality of leisure time, general life satisfaction, social structure)? Do other professionals perceive their non-work life differently?

8. How do the attitudes of teachers toward their non-work life relate to job satisfaction?
9. To what degree is age a determinant of teachers' job and life satisfaction? Do age relationships observed for teachers hold for other workers?
10. To what degree do teachers believe that they are "locked-in" to their jobs? How does this relate to work and job satisfaction? Do other professionals experience being "locked-in" in the same way?

These questions were explored through the analysis of three sets of national surveys. Rather than collecting new data, we have conducted secondary analysis of existing data sets. Taking this approach greatly reduces research costs, allows for a more comprehensive and definitive empirical study, and also yields benefits in terms of comparability of findings (Hyman, 1972). There are, however, limitations associated with this research approach, which we discuss at the conclusion of this report. We now briefly describe the three data sets that are the basis of the present study.

The 1969 Survey of Working Conditions, and the 1973 and 1977 Quality of Employment Surveys. These surveys were designed to provide an overview of working conditions of the American labor force. The universe sampled in each study consists of currently employed workers living in dwellings in the coterminous United States at the time the survey was conducted. A worker was eligible to be interviewed if he or she was 16 years old or older and was currently doing any work for pay for 20 or more hours per week. This included all persons on strike, vacation, and those away from work due to illnes, weather, or personal reasons. The sampling procedure yielded survey samples of 1,533 in 1969, 1,496 in 1973, and 1,515 in 1977.

The sample size of teachers from the 1969, 1973, and 1977 surveys is 57, 63, and 64, respectively, and of college educated non-teachers 157, 179, and 266, respectively.

The principal purpose and, therefore, the content of all three surveys are essentially the same. Each had the following initial aims:

1. To assess the frequency and severity of work-related problems experienced by employed people, with special emphasis on those types of problems that were or might become matters of public policy;
2. To indicate which major demographic or occupational groups were most affected by these problems;
3. To develop valid measures of job satisfaction suitable for use with samples of workers in heterogeneous occupations and suitable for use under a variety of conditions of census and research;
4. To assess the impact of working conditions upon the well-being of workers;
5. To establish base-line statistics that might permit subsequent national surveys to reveal any trends in the content areas originally investigated;
6. To establish normative statistics that might permit other investigators to compare with national norms their data from more limited sub-samples of workers.

Since we are interested in assessing the perceived quality of teachers' worklife, the fit between the goals of our study and the research aims of these surveys is very good.

The Quality of American Life, 1971 and 1978. These two surveys, which are nearly identical in content, were designed to provide benchmark data concerning the perceived quality of life of the American people. Closed and open-ended questions were used to probe respondents' satisfactions, dissatisfactions, aspirations, and disappointments in a variety of life domains. In both cases the data were collected from a national probability sample of persons aged 18 and over living in non-institutional dwelling units. The total sample size of the 1971 and 1978 surveys is 2164 and 3692, respectively. The sample size of teachers from the 1971 and 1978 surveys is 58 and 94, respectively, and of college educated non-teachers 124 and 329, respectively.

Content areas of both surveys include questions designed to provide information about the following aspects of life: housing, city and neighborhood, life in America, friendships, family and marriage, education, health, work, spare-time activities, and financial status. In addition to broad questions about satisfaction with each of these domains, and their importance to the respondent, specific sources of gratification and frustration were probed. There are also questions about life as a whole and about the extent to which respondents feel they have control of their lives.

These surveys were well suited to our research goals because they enabled us to explore the interaction among the individual, his work experience, and his wider network of life experience.

National Longitudinal Surveys of Labor Market Experience, 1966-1977. These surveys were designed primarily to analyze the sources of variation in the labor market behavior and experience of four age-sex subsets of the American population. The four cohorts represented in this study are mature men (45 to 59 years of age) adult women (30 to 44 years of age), and young men and young women (14 to 24 years of age). Each of the four groups was represented by a national probability sample of approximately 5,000 individuals -- 1,500 blacks and 3,500 whites. Respondents in each of the four cohort samples were interviewed at least once every two years beginning at the study's inception in 1966.

The major topics that are covered in these surveys may be classified under the following headings: labor market experience (including labor force participation, unemployment, job history, job mobility); socio-economic and human capital (including education, training, health and physical condition, marital and family characteristics, financial characteristics, military service, job attitudes, retirement plans, occupational aspirations and expectations), and environmental variables (size of labor force in local area, unemployment rates for local area, index of demand for female labor).

Each of the age-sex cohorts is represented by a multi-stage probability sample located in 235 sample areas comprising 485 counties and independent cities representing 50 states and the District of Columbia. Statistically reliable samples of blacks were obtained by over-sampling blacks at a rate of three to four times that of whites. Attrition of the sample has not been significant, with more than 85 percent of the individuals participating in the sample seven years after its starting date.

Only the mature men and adult women samples are analyzed in this study. The sampling procedure yielded samples of 5020 for the survey of mature men and 5083 for the survey of adult women. The sub-sample size of teachers and college educated non-teachers for the survey of mature men is

37 and 346, respectively, and for the survey of mature women 209 and 203, respectively. Analysis of these longitudinal surveys complements our work with the quality of employment surveys in that the former allows us to study the work experience of a group of teachers over a ten year period.

Two limitations should be kept in mind when reading our analysis. First, making inferences about a population based on a single sample of the size analyzed here is extremely risky. Although our interpretations are based on the pattern of results that emerge from several surveys, it is important to bear in mind that the samples we analyze are small. One can, however, place much credence in findings based upon several small, independently drawn samples, if they yield patterns that are in general agreement with each other, because the likelihood that the same pattern of results would emerge from a number of different, though small, samples is remote. We have sought to capitalize on this by analyzing admittedly small subsamples of teachers from several different surveys.

A second limitation is that we use cross-sectional data to study age relationships. In many of the analyses reported here, respondents are assigned to one of three age groups (below 35 years of age; 35 to 50 years of age; and over 50 years of age) to enable us to study the relationship between age and various attitudes and perceptions. Much social and behavioral science research has shown the value of categorizing respondents by career cycle stage (Campbell et al., 1976; and Hill, 1977) and the age categories used here were designed to help sort out attitudinal and behavioral differences hypothesized to characterize men and women in different career stages. Since the correlation between age and years of teaching experience is quite high (for the Quality of Employment Surveys Pearson's R ranged from .71 to .79) age is a good proxy for career cycle stage. Age relationships observed in cross-sectional data, however, are inherently ambiguous in their interpretation (Cutler, 1975; Riley, 1973). For example, a cross-sectional age relationship might reflect aging, cohort, or life-cycle effects. One is generaly not able to choose decisively among these three analytically distinct age related effects on the basis of cross-sectional data. However, through cohort analysis of a series of cross-section surveys, it is often possible to sort out age related effects. In cases where this approach has been employed, cross-sectional data have been shown to be extremely useful in the study of age relationships (Wright and Hamilton, 1978; Quinn et al., 1974; Morgan, 1972).

Because of these methodological limitations, we offer our conclusions as hypotheses to be tested by further research. This is in line with our thinking when we initiated our research, since one of the primary objectives of this study was to develop a set of research hypotheses that might be pursued in field-based studies.

At this point, a word is in order about the organization of our report. In Chapter One, we present the results of our analysis of how teachers perceive their work experience. In Chapter Two we explore the level and the determinants of teacher job satisfaction. Chapter Three is devoted to an assessment of the interaction among the individual, his work experience, and his wider network of life experience. In Chapter Four we present our analysis of the work experience of teachers based on longitudinal data. This analysis complements our work with cross-sectional data by examining teachers' attitudes toward work over an extended period of time. In Chapter Five we review our findings, discuss the policy implications of our work, outline what we think are important issues for future research, and comment on the value and limitations of using existing survey data to explore educational issues. Two papers are appended to the report that discuss topics closely related to the main themes of our work. One paper is a critical analysis of mid-life developmental theory, while the other discusses the relationships between teachers' needs and aspirations and the quality of employment.

CHAPTER ONE

THE QUALITY OF TEACHERS' WORKLIFE: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

As mentioned at the outset, one of the primary objectives of the present study was to measure the quality of teachers' worklife as they perceive it and to compare their views of their work situation with those of other workers. The few published research studies in this area have generally have been limited to narrow issues such as teacher morale, alienation, peer support, or stress, to mention only a few topics. We thought that a more comprehensive approach to research on the worklife of teachers would yield a deeper and richer understanding of teachers' multifaceted worklives than was possible from studies of a more limited scope. Further, we sought to compare teachers' reports of their work environment with those of men and women working in other fields, something that few researchers have sought to do. To accomplish these research goals we examined a broad range of aspects of worklife quality using data from the 1969 Survey of Working Conditions, and the 1973 and 1977 Quality of Employment Surveys. These survey instruments have been the basis of numerous studies of worklife quality and have proven to be extremely valuable sources of information concerning attitudes toward work. Since we have presented in the introduction a description of the surveys and the sampling procedures by which they were obtained, we proceed directly to the presentation of the findings.

FINDINGS

Demographic Characteristics

As expected, in all three surveys the majority of teachers were female, while the majority of college educated non-teachers (CENTs) and workers in the total sample were male (See Table 1.1). Between the 1969 and 1977 surveys, the female to male ratio for teachers and for the total sample remained approximately 2 to 1, whereas among CENTs the proportion of females increased appreciably. Not surprisingly, teachers were much better educated than workers in the total sample. Interestingly, the proportion of teachers reporting that they have a college degree declined from 96 percent in 1969 to 86 percent in 1977, while the proportion of workers in the total sample reporting that they have a college degree increased from 14 percent in 1969 to 18 percent in 1977. The former trend may be related to the increase during the last decade in the number of private schools, which typically do not require their teachers to be college graduates, while the latter trend undoubtedly reflects the secular growth of higher education that dates from the 1940's. Of course, all of the CENTs were college educated, and roughly equal percentages of CENTs and teachers had a graduate or professional degree.

In general, teachers were younger on the average than either CENTs or workers in the total sample. However, between 1969 and 1977 the proportion of teachers aged 21-34 declined and the proportion of teachers aged 35-50 increased substantially. This trend is probably related to declining enrollments that have caused many school boards to hire fewer teachers

TABLE 1.1

Demographic Characteristics

	1969			1973			1977		
	Teachers (N=57)	CENTs (N=157)	Total Sample (N=1533)	Teachers (N=63)	CENTs (N=179)	Total Sample (N=1496)	Teachers (N=62)	CENTs (N=283)	Total Sample (N=1515)
Sex:									
Males	37%	80%	65%	38%	78%	68%	36%	66%	63%
Females	63	20	35	62	22	32	64	34	37
Age:									
Under 21	0	0	6	0	0	6	0	0	7
21-34	52	38	31	53	46	38	43	47	38
35-50	30	43	37	31	39	32	43	36	32
51-64	16	18	22	16	13	22	14	16	21
65+	2	1	4	0	2	2	0	1	2
Race:									
White	84	93	90	92	94	92	97	92	92
Non-white	16	7	10	8	6	8	3	8	8
Education:									
High school diploma or less	0	0	69	3	0	64	3	0	59
Some College	4	0	17	7	0	21	11	0	23
College Degree	60	49	7	38	56	8	27	47	9
Graduate or professional degree	36	51	7	53	44	7	58	53	9
Marital Status:									
Married	67	83	77	59	84	75	70	77	69
Widowed	2	1	4	0	1	4	2	0	3
Separated	4	2	2	0	1	2	0	3	2
Divorced	5	2	5	15	3	6	11	6	8
Never married	23	12	12	26	12	13	18	14	18

fresh out of college and to lay off teachers with low seniority. Finally, we note that in all three surveys teachers are more likely to divorce or separate than either CENTs or workers in the total sample. Given the fact that compared to the other two groups many more teachers are in the "never married" category and, therefore, cannot divorce or separate, the level of marital disruption among teachers is even more striking.

Our finding that teachers separate and divorce more frequently than workers in other fields strikes us as very interesting. Is this because of the stress of the teaching profession (i.e., demands on time) and its effects on married life? Do teachers demand more of themselves and others in interpersonal relationships than do other occupational groups? Since the impact of marriage, separation, and divorce on our society is considered to be enormous, these questions warrant further study.

Income

Since an important reason that most people work is to earn money to support themselves or their families, income from work is not a trifling matter. As Table 1.2 indicates, in all three surveys only a small minority of teachers reported that their family income was inadequate to meet their monthly expenses. About equal percentages of teachers and CENTs indicated that their family income was inadequate, while a larger proportion of the workers from the total sample reported being dissatisfied with their family income. Overall, more workers reported that their monthly family income did not allow them to live comfortably than reported that their income was inadequate. Once again, though, about equal percentages of teachers and

TAB[illegible].2

Adequacy of Income

	1969			1973			1977		
Problem	Teachers	CENTs	Total Sample	Teachers	CENTs	Total Sample	Teachers	CENTs	Total Sample
Family income inadequate to meet monthly expenses	18%	15%	26%	12%	14%	21%	18%	17%	21%
Monthly income does not allow family to live comfortably	37	39	56	34	38	54	41	42	56
N	57	157	1533	63	179	1496	62	283	1515

CENTs reported that their monthly income did not allow them to live comfortably, while larger proportions of workers in the total sample compared to teachers or CENTs indicated insufficient income to live comfortably.

Survey respondents were also asked a series of questions about their personal and total family income. Table 1.3 reveals that, on average, teachers consistently earn lower incomes than CENTs, and about the same incomes from their main jobs as workers in the total sample. When total family income is considered, CENTs still earn on the averge more than teachers, but teachers' income from all sources is greater than the family income of workers in the total sample. In all probability, the latter is the case because a much larger percentage of teachers' spouses work compared to workers in the total sample. We also note that the personal and family income of both teachers and workers in the total sample kept pace with inflation between 1969 and 1977, while the personal and family income of CENTS did not.

Fringe Benefits

Although probably not as important to most workers as income, fringe benefits are an important part of many employees' compensation package. Table 1.4 shows that in all three surveys approximately the same percentage of the three occupational groups expressed a desire for additional fringe benefits. The table also shows that for each of the surveys, about the same percentage of workers expressed a desire for additional fringe benefits. Further, the period from 1969 to 1977 witnessed a steady increase in the desire for additional fringe benefits. This occurred, as we shall see,

TABLE 1.3

Income from Main Job

Income:	1969 Teachers	1969 CENTs	1969 Total Sample	1973[a] Teachers	1973[a] CENTs	1973[a] Total Sample	1977[a] Teachers	1977[a] CENTs	1977[a] Total Sample
0 - $5000	7%	12%	32%	5%	5%	26%	15%	11%	28%
$5001 - $10,000	73	30	48	67	30	45	60	41	43
$10,001 - $15,000	18	28	13	28	34	21	23	27	23
$15,001 - $20,000	2	16	4	0	15	4	2	12	4
$20,001 - $25,000	0	6	1	0	9	2	0	5	1
$25,001+	0	8	2	0	7	2	0	4	1
Mean	$ 8112	$ 14481	$ 8234	$ 8559	$ 13558	$ 8623	$ 7960	$ 11183	$ 8436

[a] Adjustment for inflation was made by multiplying raw 1973 dollar estimates by .87 and raw 1977 dollar estimates by .60 (based on Bureau of Labor Statistics' reports of Consumer Price Index data).

Total Family Income

Income:	1969 Teachers	1969 CENTs	1969 Total Sample	1973[a] Teachers	1973[a] CENTs	1973[a] Total Sample	1977[a] Teachers	1977[a] CENTs	1977[a] Total Sample
0 - $5000	4%	4%	13%	0%	3%	10%	2%	5%	12%
$5001 - $10,000	31	18	41	32	19	40	28	28	33
$10,001 - $15,000	33	25	27	31	31	30	38	31	33
$15,001 - $20,000	17	26	11	22	19	11	17	17	12
$20,001 - $25,000	13	13	4	8	13	5	13	8	6
$25,001+	2	14	4	7	15	4	2	11	4
Mean	$ 13499	$ 18810	$ 11633	$ 14712	$ 16137	$ 1152	$ 13296	$ 14185	$ 12237

[a] Adjustment for inflation was made by multiplying raw 1973 dollar estimates by .87 and raw 1977 dollar estimates by .60 (based on Bureau of Labor Statistics' reports of Consumer Price Index data).

TABLE 1.4

Adequacy of Fringe Benefits

		1969			1973			1977	
	Teachers	CENTs	Total Sample	Teachers	CENTs	Total Sample	Teachers	CENTs	Total Sample
Desire for additional fringe benefits	47%	46%	45%	38%	50%	45%	54%	55%	55%
Lack of fringe benefits a "Sizeable" or "Great" problem	52	24	43	29	26	40	31	25	40
N	57	157	1533	63	179	1496	62	283	1515

TABLE 1.5

Workers' Evaluation of Fringe Benefits (Expressed in Percentages)

	Availability of Benefit									Want to Receive Benefit								
	Teachers			CENTs			Total Sample			Teachers			CENTs			Total Sample		
Benefit	1969	1973	1977	1969	1973	1977	1969	1973	1977	1969	1973	1977	1969	1973	1977	1969	1973	1977
Medical, surgical, or hospital insurance that covers any illness or injury that might occur to you while off the job	81%	83%	88%	81%	93%	90%	72%	79%	78%	37%	39%	18%	29%	16%	10%	27%	25%	10%
Maternity leave with pay[a]	14	17	27	25	41	45	14	26	29	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6
Maternity leave with full re-employment rights[b]	74	94	89	46	83	85	59	74	75	4	4	6	0	0	3	1	1	2
Life insurance that would cover a death occurring for reasons not connected with your job	55	63	59	74	77	79	62	64	69	15	10	9	15	14	10	4	2	4
A retirement program	90	90	87	75	77	79	61	67	67	11	9	3	14	10	9	25	15	8
Training program	42	49	53	48	56	57	26	44	46	6	11	15	6	6	5	6	5	6
Dental program	6	6	30	6	6	32	6	6	29	4	17	46	9	15	60	4	14	22
N	57	63	62	157	179	283	1533	1496	1515	57	63	62	157	179	293	1533	1496	1515

[a] Only women were asked about this benefit.

[b] Survey did not include question.

workers in the total sample than to teachers, while dental benefits and maternity leave with pay were available to both groups about equally. Comparing teachers with CENTs, we note that maternity leave with pay, life insurance, and a training program were more likely to be available to the latter than the former, while teachers were more likely than CENTs to have a retirement program. In each of the surveys, a greater percentage of teachers than either CENTs or workers in the total sample reported wanting to add medical insurance, maternity leave with full-employment rights, and a training program to their existing benefits package. Based on the results of the most recent survey, approximately half of the teachers reported wanting dental benefits and 15 percent of them expressed interest in the establishment of a skill improvement training program, a benefit in which CENTs and workers in the total sample were rather disinterested.

Discrimination

Since the 1950s much has happened to focus attention upon age, sex, and racial discrimination. However, only in the case of sex discrimination is there a clear trend of increased sensitivity over time (see Table 1.6). The percentage of teachers, CENTs, and workers in the total sample who reported sex discrimination, grew moderately from 1969 to 1977. By the latter year, workers in the total sample perceived less sex discrimination than both teachers and CENTs, whereas, in 1969 all three groups reported about the same level of sex discrimination.

The data on age and racial discrimination indicate that for each occupational group sensitivity to these forms of discrimination changed little

TABLE 1.6

Age, Sex and Race Discrimination

	1969 Teachers	1969 CENTs	1969 Total Sample	1973 Teachers	1973 CENTs	1973 Total Sample	1977 Teachers	1977 CENTs	1977 Total Sample
Age discrimination	9%	6%	30%	10%	5%	31%	8%	6%	32%
Severity of problem (percent of those reporting problem who regard it as "Sizeable" or "Great")	20	56	47	0	88	53	25	47	51
Sex discrimination, females	8	17	8	5	24	14	18	22	12
Severity of problem (percent of those reporting problem who regard it as "Sizeable" or "Great")	67	25	44	33	25	37	50	33	33
Race or national origin discrimination	9	4	17	7	4	15	11	8	17
Severity of problem (percent of those reporting problem who regard it as "Sizeable" or "Great")	40	20	62	75	33	68	35	42	37
N	57	157	1533	63	179	1496	62	283	1515

over time. Teachers and CENTs, however, reported much lower rates of perceived age discrimination than workers in the total sample, with CENTs consistently lower than teachers. Similarly, compared to workers in the total sample, a much smaller proportion of teachers and CENTs viewed discrimination on the basis of race or national origin to be a problem. In this instance, however, CENTs reported somewhat lower rates of perceived race discrimination than teachers.

Work Schedule and Related Problems

As Table 1.7 shows, the major work schedule problem of teachers concerned excessive hours. In contrast, the major work schedule problem of CENTs was that their hours of work interfered with their family or personal lives or that their family life interfered with their work. Workers in the total sample reported that excessive hours and interference with work and personal or family life were equally problematic. Reports that excessive hours were a problem were far more common among workers in the total sample than either teachers or CENTs, although about twice the percentage of teachers compared to CENTs reported that excessive hours were a problem. Moreover, compared to workers in the total sample, smaller percentages of teachers and CENTs indicated that their hours of work did not suit them and that work interfered with family or personal life or that family life interfered with work.

Work Environment and Health Problems

Because workers spend so much time on the job, work conditions and health problems that can affect performance are important concerns. As

TABLE 1.7

Work Schedule and Related Problems: Frequency of Report

	1969			1973			1977		
Problem	Teachers	CENTs	Total Sample	Teachers	CENTs	Total Sample	Teachers	CENTs	Total Sample
Excessive hours	16%	8%	30%	7%	4%	39%	12%	7%	34%
Hours do not suit	5	6	17	8	12	15	8	10	19
Hours interfere with family life, personal life, or family life interferes with work	8	17	32	12	13	30	21	17	35
N	57	157	1533	63	179	1496	62	283	1515

indicated in Table 1.8, teachers were consistantly more likely than either CENTs or workers in the total sample to report that the physical conditions at work were uncomfortable. In each survey nearly half of the teachers indicated that their work environment was unpleasant. More specifically, teachers were slightly but consistently more likely than workers in the total sample, and far more likely than CENTs, to report unclean working conditions. They were also much more likely than CENTs and workers in the total sample to mention that they had inadequate equipment for doing their job. On the other hand, smaller percentages of teachers reported problems with noise or with ventilation compared to CENTs or workers in the total sample.

Table 1.8 also shows that teachers in all three surveys reported a higher rate of work-related health problems than CENTs or workers in the total sample. Approximately twice the percentage of teachers compared to the other two occupational groups indicated that a physical or nervous condition was caused or made more severe by their job. Teachers also were consistantly much more likely than CENTs and about as likely as workers in the total sample to report a job related illness in the three years preceding a survey. However, getting tried in a short time and trouble sleeping were less likely to be a problem for teachers than for workers in the total sample but much more likely to be a problem for teachers than for CENTs. These problems were mentioned very infrequently by CENTs.

Job Mobility and Security

To most people a good job is one that provides both security and opportunity for advancement. During the quarter century following World

TABLE 1.8

Work Environment and Health Problems

Percent Reporting Problems

	1969			1973			1977		
Problem	Teachers	CENTs	Total Sample	Teachers	CENTs	Total Sample	Teachers	CENTs	Total Sample
Physical conditions uncomfortable	49%	31%	33%	44%	35%	39%	48%	44%	37%
Physical conditions unclean	22	6	17	16	2	15	18	5	14
Not quiet enough	4	6	5	7	8	9	4	13	11
Not ventilated well enough	3	3	7	0	3	7	4	5	8
Inadequate equipment for doing job	19	6	6	21	10	6	16	10	7
Physical or nervous condition caused or made more severe by your job	4	2	2	7	3	4	7	5	5
Job related illness in last 3 years	11	6	13	12	9	11	23	19	17
Get tired in short time ("often" or "sometimes")	7	2	21	10	1	15	14	3	26
Trouble sleeping ("often" or "sometimes")	19	4	27	21	6	28	17	7	31
N	57	157	1533	63	179	1496	62	283	1515

War II, rapid population growth caused an educational boom characterized by a great demand for, but a relative dearth of, certified teachers. One result of this situation was that teacher job security in this period was good. A parellel development was the rapid growth of educational administrative units which provided teachers with an opportunity for advancement to administrative positions. However, with the decline in enrollment that started about a decade ago, job security, especially among younger, non-tenured teachers, has dwindled, as have opportunities for advancement from a classroom to an administrative position. Some of the results of these developments are reflected in Table 1.9, which displays workers' responses by age to questions from the 1977 survey pertaining to job mobility and security.

Across every age group teachers were more likely than both CENTs and workers in the total sample to perceive a shortage of jobs for people with their skills, experience, and training. Teachers were only slightly more likely than members of the other two occupational groups to believe that they would have difficulty finding another job with the same pay and fringe benefits. Not surprisingly in light of the employment market for teachers, more teachers than CENTs or workers in the total sample below age 34 believed they were likely to be laid off in the near future. Among workers over 50 years of age, teachers were far less fearful of being laid off than either CENTs or workers in the total sample. Thus, among teachers, perceived job security is directly proportional to age.

Table 1.9 also reveals that teachers felt "locked in" to their jobs in much higher proportions than either CENTs or workers in the total sample.

TABLE 1.9

Job Mobility and Security: Percent Reporting Problems: 1977 Survey

Problem	Teachers			CENTs			Total Sample		
age	<34	35-50	51+	< 34	35-50	51+	<34	35-50	51+
Stake in present job too great to change jobs[a]	52%	58%	57%	36%	46%	53%	37%	55%	65%
Afraid to quit present job without having another lined up[a]	58	62	53	43	48	44	55	56	47
Difficult to leave job even if wanted to[a]	36	48	57	32	36	55	40	51	56
Difficult to find another job with same pay and fringe benefits[b]	40	46	54	33	41	51	36	44	52
Shortage of jobs for people with your skills, experience, and training[c]	68	82	100	58	57	80	32	44	48
Likely to lose job in next couple of years[a]	17	12	0	13	10	14	16	13	15
N	27	27	8	133	102	48	682	485	348

[a] Includes workers who "strongly agree" or "agree" with statement

[b] Includes workers who responded "not easy," as opposed to "somewhat easy" or "very easy."

[c] Includes worker who responded yes.

Teachers across all age groups were more likely than members of the other two occupational groups to report being afraid to quit their present job without having another one lined up. Presumably, this reflects the tight labor market for teachers.

Teachers in all age groups also were more likely than CENTs to believe the stake in their present jobs was too great to change jobs, and that it would be difficult to leave their present jobs even if they wanted to. Comparing teachers with workers in the total sample, we find that teachers in the below 34 and in the 35-50 age groups were more likely than their counterparts in the total sample to report having too much invested in their present jobs to quit. However, about the same proportion of teachers and workers in the total sample in each age group reported that it would be difficult to leave their jobs even if they wanted to. Interestingly, teachers below the age of 35 were generally far more likely than their counterparts among CENTs and workers in the total sample to feel "locked in" to their jobs. Finally, we note that the perception of being "locked in" to ones job increases markedly with age for all three occupational groups.

Work Related Motivation

Table 1.10 displays the responses of teachers, CENTs, and workers in the total sample by age to a series of questions pertaining to motivation to work. Across all age groups, teachers were more likely to report that their main satisfaction in life comes from their work, that what they do at work is more important than the money they earn, and that they put in

TABLE 1.10

Work Related Motivation: 1977 Survey

Statement		Teachers			CENTs			Total Sample		
	Age	<34	35-50	51+	<34	35-50	51+	<34	35-50	51+
My main satisfaction in life comes from my work										
"Strongly disagree" or "Disagree"		32%	52%	29%	54%	62%	37%	56%	60%	48%
"Agree" or "strongly agree"		68	48	71	46	38	63	34	40	52
WhatI do at work is more important to me than the money I earn										
"Strongly disagree" or "Disagree"		20	22	28	34	28	26	53	46	51
"Agree" or "Strongly agree"		80	78	72	66	72	74	47	54	49
My main interest in my work is to get enough money to do the other things I want to do										
"Strongly disagree" or "Disagree"		77	89	86	69	73	76	49	57	55
"Agree" or "Strongly agree"		23	11	14	31	27	24	51	43	45
I would be happier if I didn't have to work										
"Strongly disagree" or "Disagree"		84	77	71	84	80	71	78	75	74
"Agree" or "Strongly agree"		16	23	29	16	20	29	22	25	26
If you were set financially, would you work?										
Yes		80	81	57	84	75	64	77	73	60
No		20	19	43	16	25	36	23	27	40
Do you put in effort beyond what is required?										
"None" or "A little"		3	0	0	6	1	7	8	5	8
"Some"		23	27	0	43	34	33	39	28	31
"A lot"		74	73	100	51	65	60	54	67	60
N		27	27	8	133	102	43	682	485	318

effort beyond what is required. Teachers in all age groups were also more likely than members of the other two occupational groups to disagree with the statement that their main interest in their work is to get enough money to do the other things they want to do. About equal proportions of teachers, CENTs, and workers in the total sample in each age category reported that they would be happier if they did not have to work and that they would not work if they were financially set. On balance, then, teachers' motivation to work appears to be rooted in the intrinsic nature of work, rather than in extrinsic factors. For them more so than for CENTs or workers in the total sample, work is less a means toward an end than an end in itself. This finding appears to hold for teachers in all age categories; there is no evidence of reduced work-related motivation during mid-career.

The notion that teachers' work motivation is related to the intrinsic aspects of the job is buttressed by evidence contained in Table 1.11, which displays the responses of workers to statements about the content of their work. The first four statements were designed to gauge the extent to which workers believed their jobs fostered the development of or utilized skills and abilities that are sources of intrinsic reward to most workers. Teachers were more likely than CENTs or workers in the total sample to agree that their jobs required that they keep learning new things, that their jobs required a high level of skill, that their jobs let them use their skills and abilities, and that their jobs required that they use their creativity.

Not only did a larger percentage of teachers than members of the other two occupational groups believe that the content of their work had a strong

TABLE 1.11

Work Content: 1977 Survey

Statement	Teachers	CENTs	Total Sample
My job requires that I keep learning new things			
"Strongly disagree" or "Disagree"	3%	5%	16%
"Agree" or "Strongly agree"	97	95	84
My job requires a high level of skill			
"Strongly disagree" or "Disagree"	0	11	29
"Agree" or "Strongly Agree"	100	89	71
My job lets me use my skills and abilities			
"Strongly disagree" or "Disagree"	3	12	20
"Agree" or "Strongly agree"	97	88	80
My job requires that I use my creativity			
"Strongly disagree" or "Disagree"	0	14	36
"Agree" or "Strongly agree"	100	86	64
I have a lot to say about what happens on my job			
"Strongly disagree" or "Disagree"	24	22	36
"Agree" or "Strongly agree"	76	78	64
I have too much work to do everything well			
"Strongly disagree" or "Disagree"	61	73	77
"Agree" or "Strongly agree"	39	27	23

T[illegible] 1.11-- page 2

Statement	Teachers	CENTs	Total Sample
On my job I know exactly what is expected of me			
"Strongly disagree" or "Disagree"	15%	18%	13%
"Agree" or "Strongly agree"	85	82	87
A lot of people can be affected by how well I do my work			
"Strongly disagree" or "Disagree"	0	5	11
"Agree" or "Strongly agree"	100	95	89
I think that most of the things I do on my job are meaningless			
"Strongly disagree" or "Disagree"	98	96	91
"Agree" or "Strongly agree"	2	4	9
Even if no one tells me I can figure out how well I am doing on my job			
"Strongly disagree" or "Disagree"	10	11	8
"Agree" or "Strongly agree"	90	89	92
Supervisors or co-workers usually let me know how well I am doing in my work			
"Strongly disagree" or "Disagree"	43	38	34
"Agree" or "Strongly agree"	57	62	66
N	63	283	1515

intrinsic component, they were also more likely to disagree with the statement that most of the things they do on their jobs are meaningless, and more likely to agree that a lot of people can be affected by how well they do their work. Although they thought their work was meaningful and important, a larger percentage of teachers compared to CENTs and workers in the total sample reported that they had too much work to do everything well. Finally, about the same percentage of teachers as members of the other two occupational groups agreed that on their job they knew exactly what was expected of them; that even if no one told them, they could figure out how well they were doing their job; that their supervisors or co-workers usually let them know how well they were doing in their work; and that they had a great deal to say about what happens on their job.

DISCUSSION

Based on the evidence presented here the quality of teachers' worklife appears to be marked by polar attitudes. Compared to other workers, teachers believe they work hard at jobs that are very worthwhile and intrinsically rewarding. Also, they believe that their pay and fringe benefits are adequate. At the same time, however, they believe that their work environment is unpleasant and is the cause of numerous health problems. Further, they think that they are locked-in to jobs that offer little opportunity for advancement. In short, while teachers appear to be dedicated to their jobs and to find much fulfillment in their work, they nevertheless report being dissatisfied with the environment in which they must work and with the prospects for career advancement. In other words, teachers appear to be satisfied more with the intrinsic rather than the extrinsic aspects of work. This situation is bound to cause many teachers to have ambivalent feelings toward their profession. Potential consequences of this state of ambivalence are low morale and work commitment, which may be reflected in teacher performance. Since we did not have a measure of job performance we had no way to test this hypothesis. We did, however, have excellent measures of job satisfaction and we were able to explore in more depth the links among job satisfaction, intrinsic and extrinsic job rewards and values, and age. It is to a discussion of our research into these issues that we now turn.

CHAPTER TWO

JOB SATISFACTION AMONG TEACHERS: A MULTISURVEY, MULTIVARIATE STUDY

Quality education is a goal to which we all subscribe, yet it is an extremely difficult concept either to define or to implement. A host of factors contribute to the attainment of quality education: physical facilities, financial support, student characteristics, community expectations, instructional programs, and teacher performance. Since the educational process is very labor intensive, the creativity, vitality, enthusiasm, and resourcefulness of teachers may be the most important determinant of educational quality.

Since these factors are believed to be related closely to job satisfaction (NEA, 1968), knowledge of its level and determinants has been the object of much speculation and research. Despite the more than 50 studies of teacher job satisfaction that have appeared since 1940 (Fountain, 1975), our understanding of this important issue remains incomplete. This is the case, we believe, because most of the studies designed to explore this issue suffer from one or more of three major shortcomings. First, they tend to be descriptive and not well grounded in current job satisfaction theory. Many studies provide little useful information because they are little more than personal anecdotes and essays (e.g. Wynn, 1975; McKeachie and Borodin, 1961; Feldvebel, 1968; Harbage, et al., 1961; Ornstein, 1968). In general, educational researchers have ignored the growing body of social and psychological theory that treats job satisfaction. Exceptions to this are the work of Sergiovanni (1967) and Gregorc (1971), who based their research on Herzberg's motivator-hygiene theory of job satisfaction (Herzberg, Mausner, and Synderman, 1959). However, Locke (1976) and Kalleberg (1977) have shown this theory has major limitations. Second, investigators typically have focused their studies exclusively on teachers with the result that little is known about teacher job satisfaction compared with that of non-teachers. Comparing the perceptions of teachers to those of men and women working in other fields can help place the work experience of teachers in proper perspective. Finally, although many sociological and psychological studies have shown that age is one of the best predictors of job satisfaction (Campbell et al., 1976; Glenn et al., 1977; and Quinn et al., 1974), the relationship between teachers' job satisfaction and age has not been closely studied. Another reason for our interest in the link between age and job satisfaction is that many adult developmental psychologists have posited that adults go through a series of life stages, each of which purportedly has important implications for one's career. This issue is of especial interest to educators, since the mean age of teachers is rising, and since many teachers report being locked into their jobs (Lowther et al., 1981). Therefore, we believe that it is important to examine age when studying job satisfaction among teachers.

The present study enriches our understanding of teacher job satisfaction by 1) exploring the level and determinants of teacher satisfaction, 2) comparing the job satisfaction of teachers to that of college educated persons in other occupations, and 3) examining the relationship between job satisfaction and age. The study draws on the work of Kalleberg (1977), who has developed a theory of job satisfaction that incorporates individual differences in work values and perceived job rewards as key explanatory variables. As defined by Kalleberg and as used in this study, "job satisfaction refers to an overall affective orientation on the part of individuals toward work roles which they are presently occupying" (p. 1). Although this conceptualization implies that job satisfaction is a unitary concept, it does not suggest that the causes of job satisfaction are not multidimensional. To the contrary, job satisfaction is conceptualized by Kalleberg to be a function of six dimensions of work -- intrinsic, convenience, financial, relations with co-worker, career opportunities, and resource adequacy, each of which has a work value component and a work reward component. Work values are the range of potential gratifications that are available to persons from work in an industrial society. These differentially desired work values constitute potential sources of rewards to the worker. In contrast, job rewards are defined as the rewards people actually receive from their jobs. The power of Kalleberg's theory is that it takes into consideration the interplay between job values and job rewards in evaluating the determinants of job satisfaction.

Since we are interested in the link between age and job satisfaction, we have expanded Kalleberg's model by adding age as an explanatory variable. The model used here takes on the following form: job satisfaction = $f(x_1, x_2, x_3, \ldots x_{13})$ where x_1 is intrinsic value; x_2 is intrinsic reward; x_3 is convenience value, x_4 is convenience reward; x_5 is financial value; x_6 is financial reward; x_7 is co-worker value; x_8 is co-worker reward; x_9 is career value; x_{10} is career reward; x_{11} is resource adequacy value; $x12$ is resource adequacy reward; and x_{13} is age.

Operationalization of Variables

Each of the surveys contains questions on job satisfaction, on what respondents' value in a job, and on the rewards respondents' derive from working at their job. Variables measuring job satisfaction, the six value components to work and the six reward components of work (to be described below) were developed from these questions. The answers to these questions were scored from 1.0 (low job satisfaction, low value, or low reward) to 4.0 (high job satisfaction, high value or high reward). In some cases, recoding was required to change scores to match this metric. Missing data on a particular item were assigned the mean of the cases present on that item. Following Kalleberg, the measure of overall job satisfaction used in this study is an average of the workers' responses to five questions concerning their satisfaction with work as a whole. These questions include such direct inquiries as "how satisfied are you with your job," as well as such indirect questions as whether the worker would recommend the job to a friend, whether the worker plans to look for a new job within the next year, whether the worker would take the same job again if given a choice, and how the job measures up to the kind of job the worker wanted when he took it.

Variables representing each of the six work value components were developed by Kalleberg from a factor analysis of the intercorrelations of the responses from 34 questions designed to measure the extent to which workers valued specific aspects of work. The intrinsic value variable is an average of six questions designed to measure how important it is to the workers' that their work be interesting, allow them to develop and use their abilities, to be self-directive, and the like. The convenience value variable is an average of seven questions designed to measure the extent to which workers value such things as pleasant physical surroundings, good hours, and convenient travel to and from work. The financial value variable is an average of three questions designed to determine the extent to which workers value pay, fringe benefits, and job security. The co-worker value variable is an average of four questions designed to measure the extent to which workers' value friendly and helpful co-workers, the chance to make friends, and whether one's co-workers take a personal interest in him/her. The career value variable is an average of three questions designed to determine the value a worker places on career advancement and recognition. Finally, the resource adequacy value variable is an average of eleven questions designed to measure the extent to which workers' value the resources required for adequate performance of the work role. The use of multiple-item variables of this construction overcomes many of the problems associated with single-item measures of aspects of work satisfaction (Andrews and Withey, 1976).

Reward variables for each of the six dimensions of work were developed from a factor analysis of the intercorrelations of 34 questions designed to measure the extent to which workers derived rewards from their jobs. These questions are identical to the questions that served as the basis of the work value variables, with the exception they are worded to measure work reward rather than work value. For example, at the beginning of the interview, workers were asked how important it was to them that a job offered them an opportunity to develop their own special abilities. Toward the close of the interview, workers were asked the extent to which their job gave an opportunity to develop their own special abilities. The first question was one of several used to develop the intrinsic value variable, and the second question was one of several used to develop the intrinsic reward variable.

FINDINGS

Work Satisfaction by Occupational Group

Consistent with all previous findings (Glenn et al., 1977; Quinn et al., 1974; and Wright and Hamilton, 1979), Table 2.1 shows that job satisfaction appears to be correlated with occupations when they are arranged hierarchically based on such factors as status, income, educational requirements, skill, or autonomy. In each of the three surveys, persons working in jobs clustered toward the top of the occupational hierarchy reported levels of job satisfaction higher than persons working in jobs clustered toward the bottom of the occupational ladder. Contrary to what one might expect, based on the way teachers are depicted in the current literature, in the 1973 and 1977 surveys teachers rated higher in terms of job satisfaction than all of the other occupational groups, and in the 1969 survey teachers were a close second to non-farm managers and administrators. When the results of the three surveys are averaged, teachers report being more satisfied with their work than any other occupational group. This finding is essentially in agreement with the work of Kilpatrick (1964), who found that among educators, businessmen, engineers, scientists, and groups of federal employees, high school teachers were second in job satisfaction only to college professors.

TABLE 2.1

Mean Overal Job Satisfaction Scores From The 1969 Survey of Employment And The 1973 and 1977 Quality of Employment Surveys, By Occupational Group

Occupational Group	1969	N	1973	N	1977	N	Average of Three Surveys
All occupations	3.43	1533	3.40	1496	3.28	1515	3.37
Professional, Technical, except teachers	3.50	208	3.56	127	3.23	255	3.43
Teachers	3.55	57	3.65	63	3.61	64	3.60
Managers and administrators, except farm	3.61	216	3.54	228	3.44	217	3.53
Sales workers	3.51	16	3.47	69	3.21	71	3.40
Clerical and kindred workers	3.46	158	3.40	218	3.25	223	3.37
Craftsmen and kindred workers	3.36	225	3.48	226	3.41	222	3.42
Operatives	3.17	246	2.94	255	2.92	248	3.01
Laborers, except farm	3.09	66	2.99	53	3.04	50	3.04
Service workers, except private household	3.35	97	3.28	107	3.29	118	3.31

Work Satisfaction and Age

As a group, then, teachers report being quite satisfied with their work. We now ask, what is the relationship between job satisfaction and age? The answer to this question provides clues about the pattern of job satisfaction among teachers in different career stages. As Table 2.2 reveals, job satisfaction among teachers is directly correlated with age. In all three surveys, teachers over 50 years of age were the most satisfied, and teachers under 35 years of age were the least satisfied with their work. This finding is consistent with the results reported by Johnson (1951) and Lortie (1975). It is also consistent with the findings reported by social and behavioral scientists who have studied the relationship between job satisfaction and age among the general population of workers (Glenn et al., 1977; Quinn et al, 1974; and Wright and Hamilton, 1979). Some of the factors that might explain this phenomenon in the case of teachers include: the fact that financial rewards improve with age; that the seniority system may provide older teachers with the most desired work load, supplies, and pupils; and that dissatisfied teachers tend either to leave the profession altogether or to foresake the classroom to become administrators. As a consequence of this last phenomenon, the only teachers who teach until they reach retirement age may be those who are essentially satisfied with their work.

Work Values and Age

Table 2.2 reveals that among teachers, age and job satisfaction are directly related. We now ask, is this due to a decline in work value stan-

TABLE 2.2

Overall Job Satisfaction Scores for Teachers and College Educated Non-Teachers, by Age

	Survey Year											
	1969				1973				1977			
Age:	Below 35	35-50	50+	All Ages	Below 35	35-50	50+	All Ages	Below 35	35-50	50+	All Ages
Teachers	3.48	3.61	3.65	3.55	3.53	3.78	3.80	3.65	3.53	3.66	3.71	3.61
N	30	17	10	57	34	19	10	63	29	26	7	64
College Educated Non-teachers	3.32	3.52	3.61	3.46	3.43	3.64	3.42	3.51	3.27	3.43	3.37	3.35
N	62	65	30	157	82	70	27	179	125	99	42	266

dards as workers age? That is, do the work standards and expectations of teachers erode systematically over their years in the classroom, so that with the passage of time they are satisfied with fewer work rewards? As Table 2.3 provides an answer to this question. It indicates that there is no general pattern of decline in the work value levels of teachers across age categories. As a result we must reject the hypothesis that work values or standards decline as teachers age. We conclude that the positive association between job satisfaction and age is not the result of the standards or work values of veteran teachers being eroded by their years in the classroom.

Moreover, Table 2.3 suggests that with the exception of the career value dimension, teachers consistently have higher work values than college educated non-teachers (CENTs). Thus, the higher levels of overall job satisfaction reported by teachers as compared to CENTs are not due to lower levels of work values on the part of teachers relative to non-teachers with similar educational backgrounds.

Work Rewards and Age

Table 2.3 gives a good indication of what workers at various ages want from their jobs, but tells us nothing about what they actually receive. We now ask what is the relationship between work rewards and age? We also inquire whether there are important differences in the work reward levels reported by teachers and CENTs. As shown in Table 2.4, comparing reward scores of the three age groups within each survey year reveals that both teachers and CENTs 35 years of age and older report receiving greater

TABLE 2.3

Selected Work Value Dimension Scores for Teachers and College Educated Non-Teachers, 1969 and 1973[a]

Work Value Dimensions	Age Year	Below 35 1969	 1973	 Mean	35-50 1969	 1973	 Mean	Over 50 1969	 1973	 Mean	All Ages 1969	 1973	 Mean
Intrinsic	Teachers	3.48	3.54	3.51	3.58	3.57	3.58	3.51	3.53	3.52	3.52	3.55	3.53
	Non-Teachers	3.54	3.53	3.53	3.43	3.55	3.49	3.39	3.57	3.48	3.46	3.54	3.51
Convenience	Teachers	2.77	2.61	2.69	2.89	2.99	2.94	2.43	2.89	2.66	2.91	2.74	2.82
	Non-Teachers	2.54	2.51	2.53	2.32	2.48	2.40	2.71	2.53	2.62	2.48	2.50	2.49
Financial	Teachers	3.10	3.20	3.15	3.32	3.22	3.27	3.07	3.50	3.29	3.28	3.25	3.27
	Non-Teachers	2.99	3.08	3.04	2.90	3.10	3.06	2.92	3.17	3.05	2.93	3.10	3.02
Co-Worker	Teachers	3.23	3.07	3.15	3.25	3.37	3.31	3.15	2.98	3.07	3.36	3.14	3.25
	Non-Teachers	3.01	3.10	3.05	3.03	3.02	3.02	3.29	3.23	3.26	3.07	3.09	3.08
Career	Teachers	3.00	2.98	3.99	2.78	3.17	.298	3.00	3.03	3.02	3.18	3.04	3.11
	Non-Teachers	3.51	3.36	3.44	3.50	3.23	3.37	3.07	3.48	3.28	3.41	3.32	3.46
Resource Adequacy	Teachers	3.41	3.44	3.43	3.59	3.58	3.59	2.89	3.52	3.21	3.52	3.49	3.51
	Non-Teachers	3.26	3.22	3.24	3.13	3.23	3.18	3.40	3.35	3.38	3.20	3.24	3.32
N	Teachers	30	34		17	19		10	10		57	63	
	Non-Teachers	62	82		65	70		30	27		157	179	

Note.

[a] Work value questions were not included in the 1977 Quality of Employment Survey.

rewards from their work than younger workers (compare columns A, E, and I; B, F, and J; and C, G and K). Further, Table 2.4 reveals that teachers 35-50 years of age and teachers 50 years of age and older are about equal in reported level of work rewards. On the other hand, among CENTs, workers over 50 years of age report consistently higher levels of work rewards than 35-50 year olds. When the scores for each work reward dimension obtained for the three surveys are averaged, work rewards are seen to be positively correlated with age (compare columns D, H, and L). For every work dimension, 35 to 50 year old teachers and CENTs had higher work reward scores than their counterparts below the age of 35. And, for five of the six work reward dimensions, teachers and CENTs over 50 years of age had higher work reward scores than their counterparts 35-50 years of age. Among teachers the lone exception to this pattern is that 35 to 50 years olds report receiving greater co-worker rewards than workers in the other two age categories. Among CENTs the only exception to this pattern is that 35 to 50 year olds report receiving greater career satisfaction than workers in the other two age categories. These exceptions notwithstanding, we conclude that work rewards and age are directly associated.

Table 2.4 also shows that the level of work reward for teachers and CENTs is approximately the same, with the exception that career reward is moderately higher for CENTs compared to teachers. Since educators who remain classroom teachers throughout their work life can not by definition experience upward career mobility, the low level of career reward reported by teachers is not surprising. What is surprising is that teacher's report financial rewards on a par with CENTs, since the average income of teachers

TABLE 2.4 Selected Work Reward Dimension Scores for Teachers and College Educated Non-Teachers

Work Reward Dimension	Age	Below 35				35 - 50				Over 50				All Ages			
	Year	1969	1973	1977	Mean	1969	1973	1977	Mean	1969	1973	1977	Mean	1969	1973	1977	Mean
		A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P
Intrinsic	Teachers	3.31	3.48	3.33	3.37	3.35	3.63	3.35	3.50	3.33	3.70	3.62	3.55	3.38	3.56	3.35	3.43
	Non-Teachers	3.24	3.38	3.06	3.23	3.47	3.55	3.36	3.46	3.51	3.52	3.46	3.50	3.39	3.47	3.24	3.46
Convenience	Teachers	2.93	3.03	2.95	2.97	3.06	3.31	3.06	3.14	3.01	3.39	3.04	3.15	2.99	3.18	2.98	3.09
	Non-Teachers	3.05	2.89	2.75	2.90	3.04	2.99	2.90	2.98	3.44	3.16	2.96	3.79	3.11	2.79	2.84	2.97
Financial	Teachers	3.21	3.21	2.62	3.01	2.92	3.33	3.04	3.10	3.28	3.63	2.95	3.29	3.18	3.31	2.83	3.11
	Non-Teachers	3.01	3.10	2.93	3.01	3.30	3.36	3.01	3.22	3.33	3.37	3.05	3.25	3.17	3.24	2.98	3.13
Co-Worker	Teachers	3.32	3.31	3.38	3.34	3.35	3.58	3.51	3.48	3.22	3.50	3.29	3.34	3.32	3.42	3.41	3.38
	Non-Teachers	3.26	3.29	3.22	3.26	3.34	3.35	3.35	3.35	3.40	3.43	3.33	3.39	3.31	3.33	3.29	3.31
Career	Teachers	2.61	2.49	1.99	2.36	2.31	2.54	2.35	2.40	2.34	2.90	2.43	2.56	2.55	2.57	2.20	2.44
	Non-Teachers	2.80	2.85	2.54	2.73	2.89	2.96	2.49	2.78	2.48	2.77	2.32	2.52	2.77	2.88	2.49	2.71
Resource Adequacy	Teachers	3.17	3.44	3.16	3.26	3.38	3.49	3.20	3.36	3.52	3.48	3.25	3.42	3.30	3.39	3.19	3.29
	Non-Teachers	3.33	3.33	3.15	3.27	3.30	3.39	3.25	3.31	3.41	3.41	3.20	3.34	3.33	3.36	3.19	3.29
N	Teachers	30	34	29	93	17	19	26	62	10	10	7	27	57	63	62	182
	Non-Teachers	62	82	125	269	65	70	99	290	30	27	42	99	157	179	266	602

is only 75 percent of the average income of the college educated non-teachers sampled in the three surveys. Although teachers do not earn as much as CENTs, perhaps the finding that far more teachers' spouses are employed than CENTs' spouses (66.0 percent compared to 34.0 percent) may explain why teachers report being as satisfied as college educated non-teachers with the financial rewards of work.

Determinants of Job Satisfaction

The data we have presented indicate that both job satisfaction and work rewards, but not work values, are linked with age. Pursuing our assumption that job satisfaction is a function of work values, work rewards, and age, we have employed multiple regression analysis to model the determinants of job satisfaction among teachers. This procedure will reveal which of the variables under consideration are important predictors of job satisfaction.

Our modeling strategy is straightforward and follows the dictum that fewer is better -- an empirical model using a few predictors is more useful than one using more predictors. We follow established model building procedures to winnow out variables that do not prove to be statistically significant predictors of job satisfaction. Besides the obvious fact that understanding a smaller model is usually easier than understanding a larger one, in cases such as ours where predictors are related to each other, models based on subsets of variables usually give more precise results than "kitchen sink" models.

Preliminary regression analysis revealed that in the case of teachers, age when included as an independent variable interacts statistically with other independent variables in its effect on job satisfaction[1]. In other words, the relationship between job satisfaction and several work reward or work value variables varied according to age. This interaction makes inappropriate an additive model that includes age as an independent variable. One way to deal with the problem of interaction is to develop separate job satisfaction models for teachers under 35 and teachers 35 years of age and older, which is what we have done.

Table 2.5 presents the results of modeling job satisfaction for teachers below 35 years of age and for teachers 35 years of age and older. All six of the regressions of job satisfaction are statistically significant at the .05 level. Also, the consistently relatively large R^2 coefficients of these regression models indicate that these models fit the data rather well. Since the R^2 of five of the six models is greater than .30 we conclude that a good deal of workers' job satisfaction is explained by the independent variables used to model satisfaction with work.

The regression results summarized in Table 2.5 suggest to us that the determinants of job satisfaction of younger teachers as opposed to older teachers are of a fundamentally different character. In all three surveys, the statistically significant determinants of job satisfaction among teachers below 35 years of age are limited to aspects of work that are directly related to teaching itself. Hence, in Model I, which is based on 1969 survey data, the statistically significant predictors of job satisfaction among teachers below 35 years of age are intrinsic reward and intrinsic value, both of which refer to characteristics associated with the work itself, and resource adequacy reward, which is a measure of the extent

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[1] We also conducted tests for sex interaction, but did not find that sex interacted with other independent variables in its effects upon job satisfaction.

Table 2.5 [illegible]ob Satisfaction Models for Teachers and College [illegible]ated Non-Teachers for the 1969, 1973, 1977 Surveys

		1969 Quality of Employment Survey
Model I	Teachers Below Age 35	Job Satisfaction = .846 + 1.00**(Intrinsic Reward) + .659**(Resource Adequacy Reward) - .547*(Intrinsic Value)
		R^2 = .4787 F = 8.570** N = 30
Model II	Teachers 35 and Older	Job Satisfaction = -.733 + .791**(Convenience Reward) + .231*(Career Reward)
		R^2 = .4331 F = 8.403** N = 27
		1974 Quality of Employment Survey
Model III	Teachers Below Age 35	Job Satisfaction = 2.936 + 1.506**(Intrinsic Reward) + 1.259**(Resource Adequacy Reward)
		R^2 = .3132 F = 7.297 ** N = 34
Model IV	Teachers 35 and Older	Job Satisfaction = 4.146 + .361*(Financial Reward) + .423*(Co-Worker Reward)
		R^2 = .3049 F= 5.171* N = 29
		1977 Quality of Employment Survey
Model V	Teachers Below Age 35	Job Satisfaction = 1.175 + .721**(Resource Adequacy Reward)
		R^2 = .3869 F = 18.94** N = 30
Model VI	Teachers 35 and Older	Job Satisfaction = 2.518 + .316*(Financial Reward)
		R^2 = .1263 F = 4.77* N = 32

Note. *$p \leq .05$
**$p \leq .01$

to which a worker has adequate resources to do his job well. Likewise in Model IV, which is based on 1973 survey data, the statistically significant predictors of job satisfaction among younger teachers include intrinsic rewards and resources adequacy reward, while in Model V, which is based on 1977 survey data, the only statistically significant predictor of job satisfaction among younger teachers is resource adequacy reward.

Although the job satisfaction of younger teachers seems to hinge on matters directly related to teaching, job satisfaction among older teachers seems to be related to factors extrinsic to the educational process. In Model II the statistically significant determinants of job satisfaction among older teachers are convenience reward and career reward; in Model IV they are financial reward and co-worker reward; and in Model VI the only statistically significant predictor of job satisfaction is financial reward. Importantly, each of the statistically significant predictors of job satisfaction among older teachers relates not to the inherent characteristics of the job itself or of its content, but rather to extrinsic, non-educationally oriented aspects of work.

DISCUSSION

The addition of age to Kalleberg's theory of job satisfaction revealed that the determinants of job satisfaction for younger teachers differ from those of older teachers. Although we did not find a decline in work value standards with age, we did find a fundamental age-related change in the sources of job satisfaction. This finding suggests the need for further research to address two important questions. First, we need to understand what it is about teaching and the educational system that may be responsible for this phenomenon. A second question relates to teacher performance. Little is known about the relationship between teacher performance and age but if older teachers derive their work satisfaction from factors extrinsic to the educational process their performance may suffer. Further research is needed to determine whether the age-related shift in the determinants of job satisfaction has performance implications. From a practical standpoint, the shift in the determinants of job satisfaction suggests a need to differentiate staff development activities by age. It could be that the staff development activities which motivate younger teachers may not be effective with their older colleagues.

A second issue that merits discussion is our finding that teachers as a group report being more satisfied with their work than workers in other occupations. This finding is in apparent contradiction with the image presented in the current literature that teachers are "burned out," alienated, and generally dissatisfied with their lot. How do we resolve this contradiction? We offer two alternative explanations. First, the possibility exists that the popular image of teaching as a profession replete with problems may be due to the work of a small, but highly vocal, minority of dissatified teachers whose experience is very much different from that of the vast majority of teachers. If this is the case the popular image that many teachers are burned out or alienated may be erroneous.

To our way of thinking, a more likely explanation of the apparent contradiction between the survey results we report and the popular image that teaching is a troubled and troubling profession, is that teachers may respond to questions about their work experience differentially based upon which of two perception/interpretation/reporting modes are tapped. One mode, which we shall dub the public consumption perception/interpretation/reporting mode, is given expression under certain circumstances. It may be that when teachers present to the public in general and to school boards in particular the image of teaching as an extremely problematic profession, they are faithfully reporting one facet of how they perceive and interpret their work experience. It is not difficult to see that widespread acceptance of the concept that teachers must work extremely hard against all-too-often nearly overwhelming odds just to maintain order, teach what they can, and in the process maintain their sanity would serve the best interests of teachers as they strive for better working conditions, wages, and benefits and as they seek to improve the educational process generally. The second mode, which we shall dub the private perception/interpretation/reporting mode, is given expression under another set of circumstances. When confronted with a confidential survey containing a series of questions about their worklife, teachers may invoke this mode of response and indicate that they are very satisfied with their work. The possibility exists that a survey instrument may tap a different aspect of their feelings toward work than emerges from other sources. In this mode of expressing themselves, teachers seem to indicate that their work is highly satisfying, while in the public consumption mode they seem to indicate dissatisfaction with teaching. Both ways of responding are equally valid, it is just that different situations may elicit different responses to questions about an aspect of experience, namely one's worklife, that has both positive and negative facets. If this is so, we need to be extremely careful in defining which perception/interpretation/reporting mode our research is tapping.

CHAPTER THREE

THE QUALITY OF TEACHERS' LIVES: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

In the previous chapter we focused on the level and the determinants of teachers' job satisfaction, and in the chapter before that we examined the quality of teachers' worklife. In both chapters the emphasis was on the interaction between the individual and his work environment. We now shift our focus to explore the interaction among the individual, his work experience, and his wider network of life experiences, using data from the 1971 and 1978 Quality of Life Surveys. In the present chapter we examine how teachers' assess their satisfaction with the important domains of life, which include their residential environment, experience at work, spare time, marriage and family life, friendships, financial situation, and standard of living. We also model the determinants of satisfaction with life as a whole, employing measures of these life domains as explanatory variables. Of special interest to us here is the relationship between job satisfaction and life satisfaction among teachers, as well as the relationship between life satisfaction and the domains of life experience and age. Consistent with the analysis presented in Chapters One and Two, findings for teachers are compared with results for other occupational groups as a means of giving our analysis the leverage that a comparative perspective provides.

FINDINGS

Demographic Characteristics

Consistent with the results from the 1969 Survey of Working Conditions and the 1973 and 1977 Quality of Employment Surveys, the majority of teachers in both Quality of American Life Survey samples (1971 = 67 percent; 1978 = 69 percent) were female (See Table 3.1) Contrariwise, and consistent with the employment survey samples, the majority of the college educated non-teachers (CENTs) subsets of these national sample (1971 = 80 percent; 1978 = 70 percent) were male. Between 1971 and 1978 the ratio of male to female teachers did not change significantly, whereas the ratio of male to female college educated non-teachers declined appreciably. It seems, then, that the historic predominance of females in the teaching profession has continued in recent years, although college educated females have made important inroads into fields of work formerly dominated by college educated males.

As might be expected, the vast majority of teachers (1971 = 91 percent; 1978 = 86 percent), were college educated, and over half (1971 = 54 percent; 1978 = 52 percent) had earned a graduate or professional degree. Of course, all the CENTs had a college degree or more, and a large proportion (1971 = 48 percent; 1978 = 47 percent) had a graduate or professional degree. The 1971 sample of teachers was older on the average than the subset of college educated non-teachers, but this age differential was not evident in the 1978 samples. Finally, we note that for both the 1971 and

TABLE 3.1

Demographic Characteristics

	1971			1978		
	Teachers (N=58)	Cents (N=124)	Total Sample (N=2164)	Teachers (N=94)	Cents (N=329)	Total Sample (N=3692)
Sex:						
Males	33%	80%	48%	27%	10%	50%
Females	67	20	52	73	30	50
Age:						
under 21	0	0	6	0	0	8
21 - 34	34	43	30	51	53	30
35 - 50	33	40	28	35	31	27
51 - 64	28	15	20	13	14	22
65+	5	2	16	1	2	13
Race:						
White	93	92	87	87	88	85
Non-white	7	8	13	13	12	15
Education:						
High school diploma or less	5	0	77	7	0	62
Some college	4	0	11	7	0	24
College degree	37	52	6	34	53	10
Graduate or professional degree	54	48	6	52	47	4

However, between 1971 and 1978 the proportion of teachers who were black and the proportion of CENTs who were black increased significantly. This trend is evidence that the civil rights programs that date from the 1960s increased educational opportunities for non-whites.

Life Satisfaction

One of the goals of the Quality of American Life Surveys was to assess the quality of life experience, as individuals perceive it. Two questions were used to measure global feelings of satisfaction with life: (1) "How satisfied are you with your life as a whole these days?" and (2) "Taking all things together, how would you say things are these days -- would you say you're very happy, pretty happy, or not too happy these days?" As Table 3.2 reveals, teachers in both 1971 and 1978 reported being slightly more satisfied with life as a whole and slightly happier than both CENTs and the total sample. Moreover, as Table 3.3 shows, teachers rated higher in terms of satisfaction with life than all other occupational groups in 1978, and in the 1971 survey teachers were a very close second to non-farm managers and administrators. When the results of the two surveys are averaged, teachers report being more satisfied with their lives than any other occupational group.

The Domains of Life Experience

Global measures of the experienced "goodness of life" can be meaningfully seen as a composite of feelings of satisfaction or dissatisfaction with a variety of specific domains of life (Campbell et al., 1976). Alternatively, satisfaction with specific domains of life can be fruitfully

Table 3.2

Teachers and College Educated Non-Teachers Satisfaction with Life

	1971		Total	1978		Total
	Teachers	CENTS	Sample	Teachers	CENTS	Sample
Satisfaction with life as a whole:						
1 Completely satisfied	23%	16%	22%	22%	12%	23%
2	53	57	39	45	51	37
3	10	15	21	19	22	21
4 Neutral	7	7	11	10	7	12
5	7	4	4	4	5	4
6	0	1	2	0	2	2
7 Completely dissatisfied	0	0	1	0	1	1
How happy these days?						
Very happy	48%	28%	29	36%	32%	29%
Pretty happy	45	65	61	58	61	62
Not too happy	7	7	10	6	7	9
N	58	124	2164	94	329	3692

Table 3.3

Mean Satisfaction with Life Scores, by Occupational Group

Occupational Group	1971[a]	N	1978[a]	N	Average of two Surveys
All occupations	2.54	2164	2.48	3692	2.51
Professional, Technical, except teachers	2.33	155	2.44	275	2.39
Teachers	2.27	56	2.28	94	2.28
Managers and administrators, except farm	2.25	126	2.36	291	2.31
Sales workers	2.54	60	2.60	126	2.57
Clerical and kindred workers	2.61	231	2.57	357	2.59
Craftsmen and kindred workers	2.44	164	2.52	258	2.44
Operatives	2.58	190	2.53	359	2.56
Laborers, except farm	2.61	114	2.60	258	2.61
Service workers, except private household	2.63	41	2.72	87	2.68

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[a] Means were calculated by assigning the value 7 to the least favorable response, 1 to the most favorable, and 6-2 to intervening responses.

seen as combining to produce an individual's overall sense of well-being. We now explore teachers' satisfaction with a broad range of specific life domains.

The Residential Environment

Table 3.4 displays the responses of teachers, CENTs and the total sample to questions concerning their satisfaction with their dwelling unit, neighborhood, and the community in which they lived. In general, we find that most members of these three groups were satisfied with their dwellings, neigborhoods, and communities as places to live. We note neither any important or systematic differences between the groups under consideration nor between the 1971 and the 1978 surveys, except to say that in both years the total sample was somewhat more satisfied with their neighborhood and with their community than either teachers or CENTs. Since the latter groups have higher average family incomes than the former and, as a result, probably live in costlier housing located in more desired neighborhoods, this finding may be attributable to either or both higher levels of expectation or higher residential standards on the part of teacher and college educated non-teachers relative to the total sample.

Life in America

The most extended, and, in a sense, the most remote of our domains of experience is the country as a whole. To assess satisfaction with this domain, respondents were asked a series of questions designed to determine how content they were with life in the United States at the time of the survey. As Table 3.5 shows, teachers and CENTs responded very much alike

TABLE 3.4 Assessment of The Residential Environment

			1971			1978	
		Teachers	Cents	Total Sample	Teachers	Cents	Total Sample
Own or rent dwelling unit?							
Own		66%	61%	61%	65%	64%	63%
Rent		31	35	37	34	34	35
Other		3	4	2	1	2	2
Satisfaction with dwelling unit:							
Completely satisfied	1	29	29	36	20	29	38
	2	34	32	26	42	34	26
	3	20	20	14	21	20	14
Neutral	4	6	8	13	11	6	12
	5	8	7	5	3	8	5
	6	3	3	3	2	3	3
Completely dissatisfied	7	0	1	3	1	0	2
As neighbors, are people who live around you?							
Very good		55	51	55	45	41	51
Fairly good		34	36	32	36	40	35
Neither good nor bad		11	10	9	15	17	11
Not very good		0	2	3	3	1	2
Not at all good		0	1	1	1	1	1
Satisfaction with neighborhood:							
Completely satisfied	1	33	33	46	33	29	41
	2	26	33	21	28	34	25
	3	24	22	13	17	20	13
Neutral	4	10	5	11	11	9	12
	5	5	3	4	7	5	5
	6	2	2	2	1	2	2
Completely dissatisfied	7	0	2	3	3	1	2
Is respondents' community a good place to live?							
Very good		a	a	a	55	53	49
Fairly good					36	38	41
Neither good nor bad					2	7	6
Not very good					4	2	3
Not at all good					3	0	1

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[a] Survey did not include this question.

TABLE 3.4 (continued)

		1971			1978		
		Teachers	Cents	Total Sample	Teachers	Cents	Total Sample
Satisfaction with Community							
Completely satisfied	1	23 %	23 %	37 %	28%	20%	36 %
	2	43	34	22	35	38	25
	3	22	2	15	19	22	16
Neutral	4	7	11	17	11	12	16
	5	3	3	5	2	6	5
	6	0	2	2	4	1	1
Completely dissatisfied	7	2	3	2	1	1	1
N		58	124	2164	94	329	3692

in both survey years when asked whether life in the United State was getting better or worse. In 1971, approximately equal percentages of these groups reported life in America was getting better, was about the same, or was getting worse. By 1978, the percentage of these groups that believed life in the United States was getting better or getting worse declined slightly, and the percentage that thought it was about the same increased somewhat from 1971 levels. Compared to the total sample, more teachers and CENTs thought life was getting better or was about the same. Since the 1971 survey was conducted after a decade of civil disorder and conflict unprecedented in the memories of most Americans, it is not surprising that in 1971 a larger proportion of all three groups reported that life was getting worse than in 1978.

Respondents were also asked the questions, "All things considered, how satisfied are you with life in the United States today?" Table 3.5 reveals that in both survey years the distribution of responses of teachers and CENTs is strikingly similar. We also note that compared to the other two groups in both years a larger proportion of the total sample reported being completely satisfied with life in the United States, perhaps because the general population is less critical or has lower expectations than either teachers or CENTs.

The Experience of Work

We now turn to the domain of work, an aspect of life with which most adults are intimately familiar. Work is not only a virtually ubiquitous personal experience, it is also, for a variety of reasons, the subject of

TABLE 3.5 Evaluation of Life in America

Item:	1971			1978		
Is American life as a whole getting better or worse?	Teachers	Cents	Total Sample	Teachers	Cents	Total Sample
1. Better	29%	31%	17%	27%	27%	17%
2. About the same	36	33	47	45	42	48
3. Worse	35	36	36	28	31	35
How satisfied are you with life in the United States today?						
1. Completely satisfied	23	22	34	17	18	32
2.	33	36	25	48	44	29
3.	22	25	20	24	23	19
4. Neutral	10	5	13	6	8	13
5.	9	7	5	5	5	5
6.	3	3	2	0	2	1
7. Completely dissatisfied	0	2	1	0	0	1
N	58	124	2164	94	239	3692

much corporate, government and scholarly interest. Because of their broad scope, the Quality of American Life Surveys could devote only a few questions to exploring the quality of respondents' work experience. Table 3.6 summarizes the response of teachers, CENTs, and the total sample to a series of questions about job attributes and satisfaction. It shows that in both 1971 and 1978 a much larger percentage of teachers compared to members of the other two groups reported that their work was very interesting, and that their work gave them a good chance to develop their abilities and to use their skills. We note that the responses to these three questions, which all measure aspects of the intrinsic qualities of work, indicate that as a group teachers tend to be more satisfied with the intrinsic dimension of their work experience than either CENTs or workers in general.

Teachers indicate they are rather satisfied with the intrinsic rewards that their work provides, but they also report being less satisfied with their pay than CENTs, and about as satisfied as the total employed sample. In both 1971 and 1978 nearly equal percentages of teachers and the total employed sample reported that their pay was "very good" or "somewhat good", although in both years a larger percentage of the employed sample reported their pay as being "very good" compared to teachers. We also note that the high level of job security reported by teachers compared to the other two groups in 1971 had declined precipitously by 1978. In 1971, 73 percent of the teachers, but only 60 percent of the CENTs and 58 percent of the total sample reported that their job security was "very good." By 1978 the percentage of teachers who reported that their job security was "very good" had plummeted to 45 percent, while the figures for the other two groups

TABLE 3.6 The Experience of Work[a]

Question:		1978			1978	
	Teachers	Cents	Total Sample	Teachers	Cents	Total Sample
How interesting is your main job?						
1. Very interesting	90%	67%	62%	80%	70%	65%
2. Somewhat interesting	11	27	28	19	23	26
3. Not very interesting	0	3	7	1	5	6
4. Not at all interesting	0	2	3	0	2	3
How good is your pay on your main job?						
1. Very Good	37	40	42	19	37	28
2. Somewhat good	40	46	33	46	37	38
3. Not very good	16	7	17	28	18	27
4. Not at all good	7	7	8	7	8	7
How good are your chances of making friends at work?						
1. Very good	62	63	64	67	61	65
2. Somewhat good	25	26	23	21	28	23
3. Not very good	11	8	9	12	9	9
4. Not at all good	2	3	4	0	3	3
How pleasant are the physical surroundings at your main job?						
1. Very pleasant	60	56	56	46	50	51
2. Somewhat pleasant	30	28	31	43	35	37
3. Not very pleasant	5	10	7	7	10	8
4. Not at all pleasant	5	6	6	4	5	4
How good is job security at respondent's main job?						
1. Very good	73	59	58	45	57	55
2. Somewhat good	14	24	24	43	25	28
3. Not very good	9	11	12	6	11	10
4. Not at all good	4	6	6	6	7	7

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[a] Includes only those who reported working at least 35 hours per week.

TABLE [illegible]6 (continued)

	1971			1978		
	Teachers	Cents	Total Sample	Teachers	Cents	Total Sample
How much can you develop your abilities at your main job?						
1. Very much	73	59	46	69	61	51
2. Somewhat	21	26	31	22	22	28
3. Not very much	4	11	16	7	11	13
4. Not much at all	2	4	9	1	6	8
How much chance do you have to use your skills at your main job?						
1. Very much	63	55	47	70	51	50
2. Somewhat	31	33	32	23	33	30
3. Not very	4	8	14	6	12	12
4. Not much at all	2	4	7	1	4	8
How good are your promotion chances at your main job?						
1. Very good	24	35	22	16	30	25
2. Somewhat good	42	25	26	32	30	26
3. Not very good	16	18	28	31	22	25
4. Not at all good	18	21	24	21	18	24
How satisfied are you with your main job?						
1. Completely satisfied	35	33	30	30	22	28
2.	42	29	36	43	43	36
3.	9	20	13	10	18	15
4. Neutral	7	7	13	5	7	10
5.	5	6	4	4	5	5
6.	2	2	2	8	3	4
7. Completely dissatisfied	0	3	2	0	2	2
N	58	117	1641	94	294	2747

A. Includes only those who reported working at least 35 hours per week.

scarcely changed at all. Analysis of job security ratings by age group reveals that between 1971 and 1978 job security declined most sharply among teachers below 34 years of age. (See Table 3.7) This is to be expected, since it is these teachers who have the least seniority and whose jobs are least secure in the face of the steady decline in enrollment in this period causing many school districts to lay off teachers each year. Surprisingly, teachers in the 35-50 and over 50 age groups also reported sharp declines in job security between 1971 and 1978.

These data also reveal that in 1971 the percentage of teachers who reported that their chances of promotion were "very good" or "somewhat good" was greater than the percentage so reported by the other two groups. However, by 1978 teachers reported that their chances of promotion were lower than either CENTs or the employed sample. In all probability, this decline in promotion prospects is partly a result of the decline in school enrollment, which has resulted in a reduction in the number of administrative positions to which many teachers aspire.

Finally, and perhaps most importantly, when respondents were asked how satisfied they are with their jobs, in both 1971 and 1978 teachers reported being significantly more satisfied than either CENTs or the employed sample as a whole. This finding buttresses the results of our exploration of the data sets that focused on the quality of worklife reported in Chapter Two. It seems, then, that the weight of evidence indicates that teachers as a group gain relatively high levels of satisfaction from their work.

Table 3.7 Job Security by Age[a]

1971

	Teachers			CENTS			Total Sample		
	<35	35-50	51+	<35	35-50	51+	<35	35-50	51+
How good is the job security at your main job?									
Very good	47%	89%	84%	51%	58%	64%	56%	56%	65%
Somewhat good	26	6	10	29	23	20	27	26	18
Not very good	16	6	5	11	13	11	10	14	12
Not at all good	11	0	0	9	6	5	8	5	5
N	20	19	19	51	48	18	611	459	571

1978

	Teachers			CENTS			Total Sample		
	<35	35-50	51+	<35	35-50	51+	<35	35-50	51+
How good is the job security at your main job?									
Very good	35%	46%	66%	54%	60%	67%	50%	56%	66%
Somewhat good	46	42	31	30	24	21	32	28	20
Not very good	10	3	0	9	7	6	10	9	9
Not at all good	9	9	4	7	9	6	7	8	5
N	48	33	13	156	103	35	1644	742	961

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[a] Includes only those who reported working at least 35 hours per week.

Satisfaction with Spare Time

Work is one of the most important domains of life, largely because most adult men and women spend an average of some forty hours a week on the job. And because so much time is spent at their work place, many men and women place great value on their leisure or spare time. As Table 3.8 reveals, the vast majority of respondents report being satisfied with how they spend their spare time. However, in both 1971 and 1978, teachers and CENTs were slightly more satisfied and moderately less dissatisfied with the way they spent their spare time than the sample as a whole. This is not surprising, since teachers and CENTs have more money to allocate to spare time activities and arguably are better able than others, because of their education and presumably richer cultural experiential base, to spend their leisure time in ways they find satisfying.

The Family Financial Situation

Since most men and women work to support themselves or their families, the income their job provides is closely linked to their family's financial situation, standard of living, and level of savings or investment. Given the materialistic nature of American culture, how one fares in these realms of life is no small matter. Table 3.9 provides important clues as to the family financial situation of respondents. We note that in both 1971 and 1978, teachers' personal income and their total family income tended to be higher than those reported by the total sample, though not as high as those reported by CENTs. In both surveys a much larger percentage of CENTs than teachers reported personal incomes above $20,000. In 1971 only two percent

Table 3.8 Satisfaction with Spare Time

	1971			1978		
	Teachers	Cents	Total Sample	Teachers	Cents	Total Sample
Satisfaction with Spare Time						
1. Completely satisfied	35%	31%	25%	26%	27%	20%
2.	32	37	27	35	34	29
3.	22	17	20	22	21	25
4. Neutral	5	7	16	13	8	16
5.	2	5	8	4	7	6
6.	2	1	2	0	2	3
7. Completely dissatisfied	2	2	2	0	1	1
N	58	124	2164	94	329	3692

and in 1978 eleven percent of the teachers had incomes of at least $20,000. The corresponding figures for CENTs are 20 percent and 39 percent, respectively. Not surprisingly, the total family incomes of CENTs were higher in both survey years than the total family incomes reported by teachers. However, the difference between the total family incomes of teachers and CENTs was not as great as the difference between the personal incomes of these groups. In all likelihood the fact that far more teachers' spouses worked outside the home (1978 = 96 percent) than CENTs spouses (1978 = 70 percent) accounts for this income pattern.

Not only was teachers' income less than the income of CENTs, but between 1971 and 1978, teachers lost ground in terms of family income to CENTs, who in both years far outnumbered teachers in the over $20,000 family income categories. In 1971, the modal income range for teachers and CENTs was $10,000-$19,999, but by 1978 the modal family income range of CENTs had risen to $20,000-$34,000, while the modal family income range of teachers remained the same as it had been in 1971. However, the modal personal income of teachers rose relative to the modal personal income of CENTs in the years between 1971 and 1978. In the former year the modal personal income range of teachers was $5,000-$9,999, compared to $10,000-$19,999 for CENTs. By 1978 the modal personal income range of both teachers and CENTs was $10,000-$19,999, though a much greater percentage of CENTs than teachers earned over $20,000 in that year. The decline in teachers' total family income relative to the total family income of CENTs over a period of years when teachers personal income kept pace with the personal incomes of CENTs is indeed puzzling.

TABLE 3.9 Family Financial Situation

	1971			1978		
Total Family Income	Teachers	Cents	Total Sample	Teachers	Cents	Total Sample
0 - 4,999	6%	4%	28%	7%	5%	19%
5,000 - 9,999	18	16	31	5	9	24
10,000 - 19,999	58	49	32	48	30	36
20,000 - 34,999	14	19	7	27	31	14
35,000+	4	12	2	13	26	7
Personal income from main job						
0 - 4,999	11	17	61	23	14	41
5,000 - 9,999	50	21	23	18	16	24
10,000 - 19,999	37	42	13	48	31	22
20,000 - 34,999	0	11	2	9	24	9
35,000+	2	9	1	2	15	4
Satisfaction with standard of living						
1. Completely satisfied	33	32	29	20	19	23
2.	28	33	25	38	33	27
3.	24	20	19	23	23	19
4. Neutral	5	4	14	8	10	15
5.	7	7	6	7	9	9
6.	3	2	4	3	5	4
7. Completely dissatisfied	-	2	3	1	1	3
Satisfaction with savings/investments						
1. Completely satisfied	22	13	19	10	12	10
2.	14	30	16	21	16	17
3.	23	16	14	20	18	16
4. Neutral	19	11	15	15	14	20
5.	9	12	11	8	18	13
6.	3	11	10	18	11	10
7. Completely dissatisfied	10	7	15	8	11	14
N	58	124	2164	94	329	3692

Table 3.9 also reveals that the vast majority of teachers (1971 = 85 percent; 1978 = 82 percent) were satisfied with their standard of living. Further, it shows that a majority of teachers (1971 = 58 percent; 1978 = 51 percent) were satisfied with their family situation as far as savings and investments were concerned. Interestingly, though teachers tend to have lower total family incomes than CENTs, they report being as satisfied with their standard of living and with their level of savings and investments as CENTs in both survey years. Since the total family income of teachers is generally higher than it is for the total sample, it is not surprising that in both survey years a larger percentage of teachers than the total sample reported being satisfied with their standard of living and with their level of savings and investments.

Marriage and Family Life

To this point we have examined satisfaction with life as a whole, housing, neighborhood, community, life in the United States, work, spare time, and finances, aspects of life that are rather impersonal. We now turn to an area in which the individual is engaged in relationships of a more intimate character with spouse, family, and friends. As Table 3.10 shows, the vast majority of teachers (1971 = 92 percent; 1978 = 90 percent) reported being satisfied with their marriage. The figures for both CENTs and for the total sample are very similar to those for teachers. On the surface, then, teachers, like the other two groups, are generally quite happy in marriage. However, all is not marital bliss, especially as far as teachers are concerned. Table 3.10 shows that divorce and separation are far more common among teachers than among either CENTs or the total sample.

TABLE 3.10 Marriage, Family Life, and Friendships

		1971			1978	
Marital Status:	Teachers	Cents	Total Sample	Teachers	Cents	Total Sample
1. Married	67%	77%	70%	59%	62%	59%
2. Widowed	3	2	12	3	1	12
3. Divorced	9	2	4	12	9	8
4. Separated	0	2	2	9	4	4
5. Never married	21	17	12	17	23	16
6. Living together	0	0	0	1	1	1
Satisfaction with marriage						
1. Completely satisfied	49	51	52	38	42	44
2.	33	34	30	42	43	38
3.	10	9	7	9	7	9
4. Neutral	5	3	8	4	4	4
5.	3	2	2	4	2	2
6.	0	1	1	2	1	2
7. Complete dissatisfied	0	0	0	2	1	1
Extent to which being a parent has been enjoyable						
1. Always	32	29	32	32	34	31
2. Nearly always	56	49	47	38	37	41
3. Usually	12	20	19	26	26	23
4. Sometime	0	2	2	4	3	5
5. Hardly ever	0	0	0	0	0	0
Satisfaction with family·life						
1. Completely satisfied	34	35	36	28	23	27
2.	36	34	34	45	41	41
3.	21	16	17	14	20	15
4.	5	9	7	7	7	9
5.	2	3	3	6	6	5
6.	2	2	2	0	1	2
7.	0	2	1	1	2	1

TABLE 10 (continued)

	1971			1978		
	Teachers	Cents	Total Sample	Teachers	Cents	Total Sample
Satisfaction with Friendship						
1. Completely satisfied	33%	27%	36%	32%	28%	31%
2.	33	36	30	38	30	34
3.	22	17	15	18	25	16
4. Neutral	5	11	12	6	8	11
5.	7	5	4	3	5	5
6.	0	2	2	2	3	2
7. Completely dissatisfied	0	2	1	1	1	1
N	58	124	2164	94	329	3692

In 1971, nine percent, and in 1978, 13 percent of the teachers sampled were divorced or separated, while in 1971, four percent and in 1978, 21 percent of CENTs were so classified. In both years teachers had higher divorce/separation rates than the total sample. Thus, while the vast majority of married teachers reported being satisfied with this aspect of life, a substantial minority of teachers were so dissatisfied with married life that they either divorced or separated from their spouses. We also note that teachers enjoy being a parent and are as satisfied with family life about as much as CENTs or the total sample.

Friendships

Though friendships are not as important to most people as their marriage or family life, nearly everyone values friendships and derives satisfaction from them. This latter generalization is borne out by evidence contained in Table 3.10. In both 1971 and 1978, over 90 percent of each of the three groups under consideration reported that they were satisfied with their friendships. There are no important differences among the three groups.

Satisfaction with Life and the Domains of Life Experience, by Age

One of the primary objectives of our work was to determine whether attitudes toward life were age dependent. Much has been written in support of the notion that middle-adulthood is a time of transition or crisis during which basic values and life patterns are called into question and morale and satisfaction decline. To shed light on this issue, satisfaction with life and with the domains of life experience were stratified by age.

The results are presented in Table 3.11. It shows that in both survey years, satisfaction with life as a whole, happiness, satisfaction with one's dwelling, one's neighborhood, and one's community, with life in the United States, with work, with living standard, and with savings and investments all increase with age. Only in the case of marriage and family life does satisfaction decline in middle adulthood. The decline in satisfaction with these domains may be related to the relatively high divorce rate among teachers we have noted, though we have no way to test this hypothesis. In any case, our data indicate that in all but the domains of marriage and family life, satisfaction with life and with the major domains of life experience is directly related to age.

Satisfaction with Life and the Domains of Life Experience, by Sex

Like age, sex appears to be related to satisfaction with life and with the major domains of life experience in a systematic way. As Table 3.12 shows, female teachers report being more satisfied with life as a whole than their male counterparts. Also, females indicate they are more satisfied with a majority of the domains of life experience than males. In 1978, females reported a greater level of satisfaction than men in every life domain except marriage. In the 1971 survey, female teachers indicated greater satisfaction with all of the life domains except community, spare time, and friendships. Admittedly, the sex differences between scores on many of the life domain satisfaction measures are small. Further, there are inconsistencies from survey to survey. Nevertheless, the table indicates that female teachers tend to report being more satisfied than male teachers with life and its various domains of experience, perhaps because

Table 3.11 Satisfaction with Life and the Domains of Life Experiences by Age

		1971			1978		
		Teachers					
		<35	35-50	51+	<35	35-50	51+
Satisfaction with life as a whole							
Completely satisfied	1.	20 %	28 %	22 %	15 %	15 %	35 %
	2.	50	22	56	42	48	35
	3.	10	33	17	23	21	26
Neutral	4.	5	11	6	10	9	2
	5.	15	6	0	8	5	0
	6.	0	0	0	2	2	0
Completely dissatisfied	7.	0	0	0	0	0	0
How happy these days							
Very happy	1.	35	47	63	42	21	54
Pretty happy	2.	60	47	26	54	73	31
Not too happy	3.	5	5	11	4	6	15
Satisfaction with Dwelling							
Completely satisfied	1.	25%	26%	53%	24%	17%	20%
	2.	20	53	32	33	52	50
	3.	25	11	16	22	17	20
Neutral	4.	15	5	0	15	3	10
	5.	5	0	0	2	7	0
	6.	10	0	0	2	3	0
Completely dissatisfied	7.	0	5	0	2	0	0
Satisfaction with Neighborhood							
Completely satisfied	1.	25	37	37		35	50
	2.	20	32	26		33	20
	3.	25	16	32		18	17
Neutral	4.	20	5	5		10	7
	5.	10	5	0		2	2
	6.	0	5	0		0	4
Completely dissatisfied	7.	0	0	0		1	0

TABLE 3. (continued)

		1971			1978		
		<35	35-50	51+	<35	35-50	51+
Satisfaction with community							
Completely satisfied	1.	0 %	37 %	32 %	26 %	28 %	40 %
	2.	60	32	37	37	38	20
	3.	20	21	26	17	24	10
Neutral	4.	15	5	0	13	3	30
	5.	5	0	5	4	0	0
	6.	0	0	0	2	3	0
Completely dissatisfied	7.	0	5	0	0	3	0
Satisfaction with life in the U.S.							
Completely satisfied	1.	5	21	21	15	23	41
	2.	30	32	37	46	45	30
	3.	35	32	21	20	15	19
Neutral	4.	15	0	16	6	9	7
	5.	5	16	5	7	4	0
	6.	10	0	0	4	3	2
Completely dissatisfied	7.	0	0	0	2	2	2
Satisfiaction with main job							
Completely satisfied	1.	26	42	37	27	30	42
	2.	47	32	47	42	52	25
	3.	5	16	5	8	9	17
Neutral	4.	5	5	11	4	3	17
	5.	11	5	0	6	3	0
	6.	5	0	0	13	3	0
Completely dissatisfied	7.	0	0	0	0	0	0
Satisfaction with marriage							
Completely satisfied	1.	46	36	64	41	33	44
	2.	46	29	29	52	38	43
	3.	9	14	7	0	17	8
Neutral	4.	0	14	0	4	0	5
	5.	0	7	0	4	4	0
	6.	0	0	0	0	4	0
Completely dissatisfied	7.	0	0	0	0	4	0

TABLE 3. (continued)

		1971			1978		
		<35	35-50	51+	<35	35-50	51+
Satisfaction with family life							
Completely satisfied	1.	40%	17%	44%	31%	24%	41%
	2.	30	39	39	47	46	39
	3.	25	28	11	9	18	12
Neutral	4.	0	17	0	9	3	5
	5.	0	0	6	4	6	3
	6.	5	0	0	0	0	0
Completely dissatisfied	7.	0	0	0	0	3	0
Satisfaction with living standard							
Completely satisfied	1.	20	21	58	11	20	39
	2.	15	37	32	34	37	22
	3.	30	32	11	26	21	20
Neutral	4.	10	5	0	11	7	9
	5.	15	5	0	11	9	6
	6.	10	0	0	5	5	4
Completely dissatisfied	7.	0	0	0	1	1	0
Satisfaction with savings							
Completely satisfied	1.	10	16	42	10	14	17
	2.	10	5	26	12	18	23
	3.	35	21	11	16	20	21
Neutral	4.	15	32	11	15	12	10
	5.	10	11	5	23	11	19
	6.	5	5	0	13	12	4
Completely dissatisfied	7.	15	11	5	11	12	6
N		20	19	19	48	33	13

Table 5.12

Mean Satisfaction with Life and with the Domains of Life Experience for Teachers, by Sex

	1978		1971	
	Males N = 25	Females N = 69	Males N = 19	Females N = 39
Satisfaction with community	2.52	2.38	2.16	2.41
Satisfaction with dwelling	2.56	2.42	2.26	2.23
Satisfaction with life in the U.S.	2.67	2.21	2.41	2.19
Satisfaction with health	2.00	1.91	2.11	2.01
Satisfaction with work	2.71	2.20	2.37	1.97
Satisfaction with spare time	2.48	2.36	2.26	2.33
Satisfaction with friendships	2.40	2.29	2.16	2.23
Satisfaction with marriage	1.92	2.09	1.88	1.74
Satisfaction with family life	2.25	2.21	2.24	2.05
Satisfaction with standard of living	2.72	2.49	2.63	2.23
Satisfaction with life as a whole	2.48	2.22	2.53	2.23

Means were calculated by assigning the value 7 to the least favorable response, 1 to the most favorable, and 6-2 to intervening responses.

they are less critical [illegible] their experience or have lower standards of satisfaction. Moreover, these results are in substantial agreement with the results reported by Andrews and Withey (1978), who studied the social indicators of well-being among a cross-section of American adults.

Predicting Satisfaction with Life

Now that we have been introduced to selected domains of life experience, we can turn to a very important question: which of these domains are the important determinants of overall satisfaction with life? That is, which measures of satisfaction with specific aspects of life account for most of the meaningful variation in global reports of well-being, error variation aside. To explore this question we use multiple regression analysis to model satisfaction with life as a whole.

Preliminary regression results revealed that in the case of the 1978 survey data, age when included as an independent variable interacts statistically with other independent variables in its effects on overall life satisfaction. That is, the relationship between job satisfaction and several domain satisfaction measures varies according to age. This interaction makes an additive model which includes age as an independent variable inappropriate. One way to deal with this problem of age interaction is to develop separate life satisfaction models for teachers under 35 and teachers 35 years of age and older, which we have done.

At this point the reader may be wondering why age interaction occurs in the 1978 data but not in the 1971 data. The answer is that age interaction is present in both data sets, but only in the 1978 data is it severe enough to violate the assumption of addivity that underlies regression analysis. Since the sample of teachers contained in the 1971 data set (N=58) is rather small, and therefore perhaps not as representative of the population of teachers as the sample contained in the 1978 data set (N=94), the 1971 sample arguably does not reflect the extent to which age in fact does interact with other factors related to life satisfaction in the population of teachers. That age interaction is evident in the three quality of employment surveys explored in Chapters One and Two, is supporting evidence that the 1978 data more accurately reflect the behavior of teachers than the 1971 data.

Table 3.13 displays the results of modeling life satisfaction among teachers. It reveals that a relatively small number of domain satisfaction scores explains an impressive proportion of the variance in satisfaction with life as a whole. The ability to explain over 60 percent of the variance in such a highly subjective measure is quite extraordinary and indicates that these models fit the data extremely well.

These models indicate that among teachers, family life is the most important determinant of satisfaction with life. In the case of all three life satisfaction models reported in Table 3.13, satisfaction with family life is the best predictor of life satisfaction. For the 1971 survey data (Model I) and for the 1978 sub-sample of teachers over 43 years of age (Model III), satisfaction with spare time is the domain second most strongly related to life satisfaction. However, for the 1978 sub-sample of teachers below age 35, satisfaction with work is second only to satisfaction with family life in terms of strength of prediction to satisfaction

Table 3.13 PREDICTION OF LIFE SATISFACTION AMONG TEACHERS

	Satisfaction with Specific Domaine of Life Experience	Regression Coefficients	Beta Coefficients	Partial R	
Model I: Teachers, 1971 Survey Data	Family life	.338**	.397	.458	
	Spare time	.300**	.368	.411	
	Standard of living	.237**	.233	.341	
	Friendships	.203*	.241	.329	
	Age	.019*	.211	.306	
	Explained variance (adjusted R^2) = 63.4 percent			N = 56	F = 17.76**
Model II: Teachers Below Age 35, 1978 Survey Data	Family life	.439**	.501	.559	
	Work	.156*	.280	.363	
	Friendships	.187*	.266	.337	
	Explained variance (adjusted R^2) = 60.7 percent			N = 44	F = 12.60**
Model III Teacher Over Age 34, 1978 Survey Data	Family life	.505**	.537	.708	
	Spare time	.318**	.389	.580	
	Savings & Investments	.144**	.258	.440	
	Explained variance (adjusted R^2) = 72.6			N = 45	F = 39.06**

with life. The relative importance for younger teachers of satisfaction with work in explaining life satisfaction may be pregnant with meaning. It could be that this pattern is related to our finding, reported in the previous chapter, that job satisfaction among younger teachers seems to hinge on matters directly related to teaching, while job satisfaction among older teachers seems to be related to factors extrinsic to the educational process. That younger teachers' job satisfaction is related to measures of work-related factors that bear directly on the educational process and also that their satisfaction with life is closely related to their satisfaction with work may not be coincidental. The possibility is quite distinct that among younger teachers job satisfaction and life satisfaction are more closely related to their assessment of their role in the educational process than it is for older teachers. Quite unlike younger teachers, the life satisfaction of older teachers seems to depend exclusively upon the perceived quality of their lives outside of work. Further, family life, spare time, and savings and investments are the important determinants of life satisfaction, not job satisfaction. As with our other interpretations, we offer this interpretation more as an hypothesis than as an assertion of fact. It goes without saying that we think this entire issue warrants further study.

DISCUSSION

Our data indicate that teachers, by and large, respond to questions about life satisfaction and its domains in much the same way as do college educated non-teachers. However, we did find that higher percentages of teachers were more satisfied with their lives than CENTs and teachers claimed also a higher level of satisfaction from their work experience. Moreover, teachers reported their work more interesting than CENTs. The finding that the level of job security increases over age, and is lowest among teachers below age 35 is not surprising in view of recent changes in the educational scene, such as millage defeats, teacher layoffs, and reduced enrollments due to a decline in the birth rate.

The opening paragraph of this chapter points out our interest in the relationsips between job satisfaction and life satisfaction among teachers. Along with other investigators (Katzell and Yankelovich, 1975; Blauner, 1964) we have held the position in this study that work is a central dimension in the lives of individuals, and feelings about it should affect satisfaction with life in general. Growing out of the work of Wilensky (1960), three hypotheses are frequently utilized concerning work-non-work situations: spillover, compensation and segmentation (Rice, Near and Hunt, 1980). The first, spillover, implies that the two domains can be colored by experiences in each; the compensation hypotheses suggests that workers will seek rewards in non-work settings if unrewarded in work and vice-versa; the segmentation hypotheses implies compartmentalization, with work and non-work settings rarely influencing one another. Our analysis suggests that for teachers the work-non-work relationship differs according to age. For teachers below age 35 the spillover effect seems to hold, as regression analyses reveal that satisfaction with work is an important determinant of life satisfaction. Older teachers, on the other hand, seem to segment the work-non-work spheres, as analysis of this group shows that work satisfaction is not related to life satisfaction. Though we have no way to test the compensation hypotheses, we speculate that older teachers would display this phenomenon to a greater extent than younger teachers.

In their review of the literature on the work-non-work relationship Rice, Near, and Hunt (1980) conclude that "job satisfaction is more strongly related to life satisfaction for males than females" (p. 47). This implies that sex interacts with the relationship between life satisfaction and job satisfaction. Statistical procedures to detect sex interaction were conducted but no sex interaction was found in the 1971 or the 1978 data. This means that among teachers life satisfaction is not differentially senstitive to job satisfaction across sex groups. Nor did analysis reveal that knowledge of sex adds significantly to the proportion of variance explained in life satisfaction by job satisfaction. Based on these results we conclude that there are no important differences in the nature of the work-non-work relationship for male and female teachers. As with our other conclusions, we offer this finding as a hypothesis to be tested in future research.

Data reported in this and other chapters about job and life satisfaction force us to address the incongruity between popular accounts of teacher dissatisfaction and our findings of considerable satisfaction. One likely explanation is methodological; that cross-sectional survey data, even though collected by interview, do not adequately penetrate the work experience. One suggestion to remedy this methodological problem would be the use of qualitative modes of research (case studies, critical incidents) as a means of examining more fully the meaning and adjustment to work by teachers.

CHAPTER FOUR

TEACHERS' ATTITUDES TOWARD WORK: A LONGITUDINAL ANALYSIS

In this chapter we present the results of our analysis of the National Longitudinal Surveys of the Labor Market Experience of men 45-59 years of age and of women 30-44 years of age. Whereas the analysis in the previous chapters is based on cross-sectional data, this chapter's findings are based on a series of surveys conducted over a ten year period on the same group of individuals. The main advantage of longitudinal data is that it yields a "motion picture" of respondents' experience over time rather than a "snap shot" taken at one point in time. The analysis we present in this chapter complements the analysis presented in previous chapters by examining the work experience of a group of teachers over an extended period of time. This gives us a chance to determine whether our findings based on cross-sectional data hold up under longitudinal analysis.

FINDINGS

Demographic Characteristics

Men 45-59. In 1966, the year the panel study was launched, all of the respondents were 45 to 59 years of age. As Table 4.1 shows, in all three occupational groups 45-49 year olds are somewhat overrepresented, and 55-59 year olds slightly underrepresented. As in the Quality of Employment and the Quality of Life Surveys, teachers divorced or separated slightly more frequently than college educated non-teachers (CENTs) or workers in the

Table 4.1 Demographic Characteristics: Mature Men

	Teachers (N = 37)	CENTs (N = 346)	Total Sample (N = 5020)
AGE			
45-49	43%	42%	37%
50-54	30	33	34
55-59	27	25	29
MARITAL STATUS			
Married	86	91	88
Divorced	3	2	2
Separated	3	1	3
Widowed	0	1	3
Never Married	8	5	4
CHANGE IN MARITAL STATUS			
During the 10 year period following 1966, married respondent either divorced or separated, or unmarried respondent married and subsequently divorced or separated	5	3	3
RACE			
White	75	89	70
Black	22	9	28
Other	3	2	2
EDUCATION			
Less than high school	0	-	64
High school	16	-	28
College	84	100	8

total sample. In 1966 a total of six percent of the teachers were divorced or separated, while three percent of the CENTs and five percent of the workers in the total sample fell into one of those marital statuses. When we chart the marital experience of the respondents over the ten year period of the study, we find that five percent of the teachers were married in 1966 and later divorced or separated, or were separated or divorced in 1966 and who subsequently remarried and then divorced or separated. Corresponding figures for CENTs and for workers in the total sample are three percent and two percent respectively. These longitudinal data, then, appear to confirm our previous findings based on cross-sectional data reported in Chapter One and Three that teachers have a slightly greater tendency to divorce than CENTs or workers in the total sample.

Table 4.1 also shows that about a quarter of the teachers and workers in the total sample are non-white. These figures are much higher than those from the other surveys we explored owing to the fact that the National Longitudinal Surveys oversampled non-white while the other surveys did not. As might be expected, the teachers were much better educated than the total sample of workers -- 84 percent of them had a college degree, while only eight percent of the total sample had completed college. By definition, all of the CENTs had at least a college degree.

Women 30-44. In 1967 the women in the sample were 30 to 44 years old. As in the case of the men, in 1967 a slightly higher percentage of teachers (seven percent) reported being divorced or separated compared to CENTs (six percent) or workers in the total sample (six percent). When the marital status of the women is traced over a ten year period, teachers again show a slightly greater propensity to divorce or separate then the other two occupational groups. As Table 4.2 shows, seven percent of the teachers were married in 1967 and later divorced or separated, or were divorced and later married only to divorce or separate again. The corresponding figures for CENTs and workers in the total sample are five percent and four percent, respectively. When these results are considered along with those from the other surveys, it appears that teachers display a greater tendency to divorce or separate than non-teachers.

As with the survey of mature men, non-whites are overrepresented in the survey of adult women, again because non-whites were oversampled in an effort to provide accurate population estimates for blacks. As expected, the vast majority of teachers are college educated, (89 percent) while only a small minority of workers in the total sample have a college diploma (ten percent), of course all of the CENTs have at least a bachelor's degree.

Personal Wages and Family Income

Men 45-59. Analysis of the work and life quality cross-sectional surveys revealed that teachers earn lower incomes than CENTs, and about the same incomes from their main jobs as workers in the total sample. When total family income is considered, CENTs still earn more on the average than teachers, but teachers' income from all sources is greater than the family income of workers in the total sample. As Table 4.3 reveals, data from the National Longitudinal Surveys are consistent with these findings.

Women 30-44. Like the sample of middle aged men teachers, mature women teachers earned less than their CENTs counterparts and about the same

Table 4.2 Demographic Characteristics: Mature Women, 30-44 years Old in 1967

	Teachers N=209	CENTs N=203	Total Sample N=5083
AGE			
30-34	31%	45%	32 %
35-39	38	33	32
40-44	31	22	36
MARITAL STATUS			
Married	84	82	87
Divorced	4	4	4
Separated	3	2	2
Widowed	1	1	1
Never Married	8	11	6
CHANGES IN MARITAL STATUS			
During the 10 year period following 1967, married respondent either divorced or separated, or unmarried respondent married and subsequently divorced or separated	7	4	5
RACE			
White	77	80	71
Black	22	19	27
Other	1	1	2
EDUCATION			
Less than high school	0	-	34
High school	11	-	56
College	89	100	10

Table 4.3 Personal Wages and Family Income: Mature Men

	Teachers			CENTs			Total Sample		
	1966	1971[a]	1976[a]	1966	1971[a]	1976[a]	1966	1971[a]	1976[a]
PERSONAL WAGES									
0-5000	6%	5%	4%	28%	20%	14%	47	46	43
5001-10000	61	59	57	26	23	26	39	38	39
10001-15000	33	36	39	25	31	30	10	11	12
15001-20000	0	1	2	11	14	15	2	3	3
20001-25000	0	0	0	5	7	9	1	1	2
25001-30000	0	0	0	2	2	3	b	b	1
30001-40000	0	0	0	2	2	2	b	b	b
40001+	0	0	0	1	1	1	b	b	b
Mean (dollars)	7421	8149	8268	12421	13151	13977	7245	7731	8267
TOTAL FAMILY INCOME									
0-5000	12	9	7	5	3	3	27	25	23
5001-10000	21	22	19	15	14	15	40	36	23
10001-15000	31	32	33	28	23	28	22	23	25
15001-20000	27	28	32	24	27	29	7	9	11
20001-25000	9	9	8	11	13	14	2	3	3
25001-30000	0	0	1	6	7	8	1	2	2
30001-40000	0	0	0	6	7	7	1	1	1
40000+	0	0	0	5	5	6	b	1	1
Mean (dollars)	12350	13562	13759	15755	17662	17729	10233	10919	11679
N	35	32	30	321	308	291	4121	3969	3742

[a] Adjustment for inflation was made by mutliplying raw 1971 dollar estimates by .38 and raw 1976 dollar estimates by .587 (based on Bureau of Labor Statistics' reports of Consumer Price Index data).

[b] Less than 1 percent.

as women in the total sample (See Table 4.4). The total family income of women teachers, like that of middle aged men teachers, was less than the family income of CENTs but more than the family income of women in the total sample. Interestingly though, the women teachers sampled earned less than the middle aged men teachers, presumably because they were younger and did not have the seniority of the mature men. However, the total family income of adult women teachers was significantly higher than that of the mature male teachers. This indicates, to no one's surprise, that the spouses of female teachers have higher incomes then the spouses' of male teachers.

Feelings Toward Work

Men 44-59. Consistent with the findings of our exploration of the employment and life quality surveys, longitudinal analysis revealed that middle aged men teachers consistently reported being slightly more satisfied with their work than CENTs and much more satisfied with their jobs than workers in the total sample (See Table 4.5). Also consistent with previous analysis, when asked what they liked most about their work, teachers mentioned intrinsic aspects of work slightly more often than CENTs and much more often than workers in the total sample. Conversely, teachers were least likely and workers in the total sample most likely to mention that what they liked most about their jobs were the extrinsic aspects of work. As these 44-59 year old teachers aged over the ten year period under study, attitudes toward work and what they liked most about their job appear to have changed little. However, as teachers age, it does appear that they become more dissatisfied with the intrinsic aspects of work and less dissatisfied with the extrinsic aspects of work.

Table 4.4

Personal Wages and Family Income: Mature Females

Personal Wages	Teachers			CENTs			Total Sample		
	1967	1972[a]	1977[a]	1967	1972[a]	1977[a]	1967	1972[a]	1977[a]
0 - 5000	10 %	9 %	7%	9%	7%	7%	28%	24 %	27%
5001 - 10000	71	69	66	31	30	29	44	46	40
10001 - 15000	19	21	27	26	29	30	12	11	16
15001 - 20000	0	1	0	14	12	14	5	6	5
20001 - 25000	0	0	0	10	12	10	5	4	6
25001 - 30000	0	0	0	5	4	3	3	4	3
30001 - 40000	0	0	0	3	4	5	2	2	2
40001+	0	0	0	2	2	2	1	1	1
Mean (dollars)	6751	7221	7578	12221	13115	13517	6721	7233	7654
Total Family Income									
0 - 5000	20	15	11	24	14	12	46	39	36
5001 - 10000	22	20	20	16	12	6	19	16	13
10001 - 15000	13	18	17	15	15	12	11	13	11
15001 - 20000	13	11	10	12	9	8	8	9	10
20001 - 25000	8	9	11	4	9	11	4	7	7
25000 - 30000	8	4	7	9	10	12	3	4	5
30001 - 40000	8	10	9	4	11	13	3	5	6
40001+	8	13	15	16	20	22	6	7	7
Mean (dollars)	14791	16142	18244	17421	19362	21654	8147	9639	10343
N	189	176	164	181	169	161	4039	3796	3659

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[a] Adjustment for inflation was made by multiplying raw 1972 dollar estimates by .853 and raw 1976 dollar estimates by .554 (based on Bureau of Labor Statistics' reports of Consumer Price Index data).

Table4.5 Feelings Toward Work: Mature Men

	Teachers			CENTs			Total Sample		
	1966	1971	1976	1966	1971	1976	1966	1971	1976
Attitude Toward Job									
Like very much	76%	79 %	a%	73%	71%	a%	56%	47%	a%
Like fairly well	24	17	a	22	26	a	37	45	a
Dislike somewhat	0	0	a	3	2	a	5	6	a
Dislike very much	0	4	a	2	1	a	2	2	a
Like Most About Job									
Mentions intrinsic aspect of work	79	77	69	73	73	75	51	57	54
Mentions extrinsic aspect of work	21	23	31	27	27	25	49	43	46
Dislike Most About Job									
Mentions intrinsic aspect of work	42	44	49	22	24	27	25	24	21
Mentions extrinsic aspect of work	58	56	51	78	76	73	75	76	79
N	37	34	32	341	309	296	4391	3986	3647

[a] Question not included in this survey wave.

At the close of Chapter 1, we hypothesized that many teachers have ambivalent feelings toward their work. This ambivalence may be reflected in the responses of teachers to the questions, "What do you liked most about your job?" and "What do you dislike most about your job?" Although close to 80 percent of the teachers sampled said that what they liked most about their jobs were the intrinsic aspects of work, around 45 percent of them nevertheless mentioned extrinsic aspects of the job when asked what they disliked most about work. Importantly, much higher proportions of teachers compared to CENTs and workers in the total sample reported that what they liked most and disliked most about their jobs were intrinsic aspects of work. This suggests that more teachers than CENTs or workers in the total sample have ambivalent feelings toward the intrinsic aspects of work. Teachers, however, are much less ambivalent concerning the extrinsic aspects of work. Compared to workers in the total sample, small percentages of teachers, or for that matter, CENTs mentioned that what they liked most and disliked most about their jobs were the extrinsic aspects of work. Thus, few teachers and CENTs appear to have ambivalent feelings toward the extrinsic aspects of work compared to workers in the total sample.

Women 30-44. Consistent with results presented in preceding chapters, the sample of women teachers 30-44 years of age indicated that they were highly satisfied with their jobs (See Table 4.6). The proportion reporting that they either liked their job "very much" or liked it "fairly well" varied from 94 percent in 1967 to 99 percent in 1977. Also consistent with findings reported earlier, job satisfaction is directly correlated with age. As the teachers aged over the ten year period of the longitudinal

Table 4.6 Feelings Toward Work: Adult Women

	Teacher			CENTs			Total Sample		
	1967	1972	1977	1967	1972	1977	1966	1972	1977
Attitude Toward Job									
Like very much	71%	74%	80%	77%	65%	65%	63%	55%	58%
Like fairly well	23	24	19	20	28	27	31	38	36
Dislike somewhat	5	1	1	3	5	6	4	5	5
Dislike very much	1	1	0	0	2	2	2	2	1
Like Most About Job									
Mentions intrinsic aspects of work	64	70	66	65	68	67	48	50	46
Mentions extrinsic	36	30	34	35	32	33	52	50	54
Dislike Most About Work									
Mentions intrinsic aspects of work	36	41	39	24	27	34	20	24	28
Mentions extrinsic aspect of work	64	59	61	76	73	66	80	76	72
Percent mentioning that what they liked most and disliked most about their job is an intrinsic aspect of work.	14	16	13	7	10	8	6	6	7
Percent mentioning that what they liked most and disliked most about their job is an extrinsic aspect of work	7	11	9	10	12	7	19	21	16
Commitment to Work									
Yes	74	72	66	79	71	66	62	57	58
No	4	24	31	4	26	31	4	38	37
Undecided	22	4	3	17	3	3	34	5	5
N	209	196	184	203	192	184	5083	4761	4429

study, the percentage reporting that they liked their job "very much" increased steadily and the percentage reporting that they disliked their job "somewhat" or "very much" decreased steadily. Contrariwise, among the CENTs and workers in the total sample, job satisfaction appears to have declined slightly as the adult women aged.

When asked what they liked most about their job, a clear majority of adult women teachers and CENTs, but only about half of the workers in the total sample, mentioned an intrinsic aspect of work. When asked what they disliked most about their job, about 40 percent of the teachers but only about 25 percent of the CENTs or workers in the total sample mentioned an intrinsic aspect of work. As with the mature male teachers, more teachers than members of the other two occupational groups mentioned that what they liked most about their job and disliked most about their job was an intrinsic aspect of work. This suggests that teachers harbor feelings of ambivalence toward the intrinsic aspects of work to a greater extent than do CENTs or workers in the total sample. In contrast, workers in the total sample are far more likely than either teachers or CENTs to express ambivalence toward the extrinsic aspects of work.

Finally, more female teachers and CENTs than workers in the total sample reported being committed to work. Moreover, for all three occupational groups commitment to work declined over age. Over the ten year period of the longitudinal study, the proportion of teachers, CENTs, and workers in the total sample who reported that they were committed to work declined from 74 percent to 66 percent, from 79 percent to 66 percent, and from 62 percent to 58 percent, respectively. Also during this period, the percentage of workers in all three occupational groups who indicated that they were not committed to work increased sharply and the proportion reporting that they were undecided declined sharply. These data indicate that among women in mid-career, commitment to work appears to decline with age.

DISCUSSION

Analysis of the National Longitudinal Surveys of Labor Market Experience of 45-59 year old men and 30-44 year old women yields results that are in complete accord with findings based on the analysis of cross-sectional data. Though the number of cases analyzed is small, both longitudinal and cross-sectional analysis suggest that for men as well as women, the likelihood of divorce or separation is higher among teachers than among CENTs or workers generally. Further teachers appear to earn lower personal incomes than CENTs, but about the same incomes from their main jobs as workers in the total sample. In terms of total family income, CENTs still earn more on the average than teachers, but teachers' income from all sources is greater than the family income of workers in the total sample. Further, both cross-sectional and longitudinal analysis reveal that teachers report being slightly more satisfied with their work than CENTs and much more satisfied with their jobs than workers in the total sample. In addition, both workers of analysis suggest that the rewards teachers get from work are mainly intrinsic, in that they are less dependent upon extrinsic rewards than other workers. Finally, there is some evidence to suggest that teachers harbor greater feelings of ambivalence toward their work than workers in other fields.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The present study has investigated teachers' attitudes toward work and the relationship between their work experience and their lives outside the school. An important aspect of this work was our focus on age as a key variable. Discussed below are the findings of this research, recommendations for further research, implications for educational policy, and our assessment of the value and limitations of using existing multipurpose survey data in educational research.

FINDINGS

Chapter One: The Quality of Teachers' Worklife

One of the primary objectives of our work was to measure the worklife quality of teachers as they perceive it and to compare their views of their work situation with those of other workers. Analysis of the 1969 Survey of Working Conditions and the 1973 and 1977 Quality of Employment Surveys reveals that in each of these studies nearly equal and rather small percentages of teachers (three-survey average is 16 percent) and college educated non-teachers (CENTs) (three-survey average is 16.7 percent) reported that their monthly income does not allow them to live comfortably. A somewhat larger proportion of workers in the total sample (three-survey average is 22.7) indicated that they had insufficient income to live comfortably. Not surprisingly, teachers earn substantially lower incomes than CENTs, and about the same incomes from their main jobs as workers in the total sample. When total family income is considered, CENTs still earn on the average more than teachers, but teachers' income from all sources is greater than the family income of workers in the total sample. In all probability, the latter is the case because a much larger percentage of teachers' spouses work compared to workers in the total sample.

Analysis also indicates that, in general, the fringe benefits package available to teachers is on a par with the benefits available to CENTs. Both of these two occupational groups receive better fringe benefits than workers in the total sample. A closer look reveals that health insurance, skill improvement training, maternity leave with re-employment rights, and a retirement program were more likely to be available to teachers than to workers in the total sample. However, life insurance was more likely to be available to workers in the total sample than to teachers, while dental benefits and maternity leave with pay were available to both groups about equally. Comparing teachers with CENTs, we note that maternity leave with pay, life insurance, and a training program were more likely to be available to the latter than the former, while teachers were more likely to have a retirement program than CENTs. In each of the surveys, a greater percentage of teachers than either CENTs or workers in the total sample reported wanting the coverage of their medical insurance increased, as well as wanting to add maternity leave with full-employment rights and a training program to their existing benefits package.

Further, analysis revealed that the major work schedule problem of teachers was excessive hours of work. In each survey twice the percentage of teachers compared to CENTs reported this problem. Interestingly, workers in the total sample reported this problem far more often than either teachers or CENTs. Data from the National Longitudinal Surveys of Labor Market Experience allow for a comparison of self-reports of excessive hours worked with reports of the actual number of hours worked per week. This comparison reveals how well perceptions of being overworked square with actual behavior. Table 5.1 displays the mean number of hours worked per week based on data collected in the 1966, 1971, and 1976 survey waves. It shows that for both males and females differences in the number of hours worked per week for teachers, CENTs, and workers in the total sample are small. Although our admittedly limited data do not permit us to draw firm conclusions, they do suggest that the perception of working excessive hours may have little to do with the actual number of hours worked.

Table 5.1

Mean Hours Worked Per Week

	Teachers	CENTs	Total Sample
Males (N = 37)	45.8	47.1	45.6
Females (N = 209)	38.5	35	35.5

Note: Figures in Table 5.1 are the average of the number of hours worked per week reported by respondents for a typical week in 1966, 1971, and 1976.

Concerning work environment and health problems, teachers were consistently more likely than either CENTs or workers in the total sample to report that the physical conditions at work were uncomfortable. In each survey nearly half of the teachers indicated that their work environment was unpleasant. More specifically, teachers were slightly but consistently more likely than workers in the total sample, and far more likely than CENTs, to report unclean working conditions. They were also much more likely than CENTs and workers in the total sample to mention that they had inadequate equipment for doing their job. Teachers in all three surveys also reported a higher rate of work-related health problems than CENTs or workers in the total sample. Approximately twice the percentage of teachers compared to the other two occupational groups indicated that a physical or nervous condition was caused or made more severe by their job. Teachers also were consistently much more likely than CENTs and about as likely as workers in the total sample to report a job related illness in the three years preceding a survey.

Teachers' perception of job mobility and security also differed from those of CENTs and workers in the total sample. Across every age group teachers were more likely than both CENTs and workers in the total sample to perceive a shortage of jobs for people with their skills, experience, and training. Teachers were only slightly more likely than members of the other two occupational groups to believe that they would have difficulty finding another job with the same pay and fringe benefits. In light of the employment market for teachers, more teachers than CENTs or workers in the total sample below the age 34 believed they were likely to be laid off in the near future. Among workers over 50 years of age, teachers were far less fearful of being laid off than either CENTs or workers in the total sample. Thus, among teachers, perceived job insecurity is directly proportional to age. Teachers across all age groups were more likely than members of the other two occupational groups to report being afraid to quit their present job without having another one lined up. Presumably, this reflects the tight labor market for teachers.

Another aspect of work we explored using the employment quality data concerned work-related motivation. Across all age groups, teachers were more likely to report that their main satisfaction in life comes from their work, that what they do at work is more important than the money they earn, and that they put in effort beyond what is required. Teachers in all age groups were also more likely than members of the other two occupational groups to disagree with the statement that their main interest in their work is to get enough money to do the other things they want to do. This evidence suggests that teachers motivation to work is rooted in the intrinsic nature of work, rather than extrinsic factors. For them more so than for CENTs or workers in the total sample, work is less a means toward an end than an end in itself.

This generalization is buttressed by the finding that a larger percentage of teachers than members of the other two occupational groups believed that the content of their work had a strong intrinsic component. They were also more likely to disagree with the statement that most of the things they do on their jobs are meaningless, and more likely to agree that "a lot of people can be affected by how well they do their work." These findings appear to hold for teachers in all age categories; there is no evidence of reduced work related motivation during mid-career.

Based on these findings the following profile of teaches emerges. The total family income of teachers is above average, in part because the majority have working spouses. The vast majority of teachers report that their income allows them to live comfortably and that they are satisfied with their fringe benefit package. Though they believe that they work excessive hours, fragmentary evidence indicates that their hours of work are on a par with other workers. Teachers report that their work conditions are uncomfortable and that they also have a relatively high rate of work-related health problems. Further, they are more likely than other workers to believe they are being locked-in to their jobs. Finally, teachers report that their main satisfaction in life comes from their work and that the work they do is more important than the money they earn.

Chapter Two: Job Satisfaction Among Teachers

A second primary objective of the present study was to assess the job satisfaction of teachers and to compare their perceptions of it to those of other workers. Analysis revealed that in the 1973 and 1977 employment quality surveys, teachers rated higher in terms of job satisfaction than all of the other occupational groups, and in the 1969 survey teachers were a close second to non-farm managers and administrators. When the results of the three surveys are averaged, teachers report being more satisfied with their work than any other occupational group. Moreover, job satisfaction among teachers is directly correlated with age. In all three surveys, teachers over 50 years of age were the most satisfied, and teachers under 35 years of age were the least satisfied with their work. Work rewards and age are also directly associated, but we found no evidence that work values are age dependent.

To explore the relationships between job satisfaction and work reward and work values we used multiple regression analysis. We found that among teachers under 35 years of age job satisfaction depended upon matters directly related to education, while among teachers 35 years of age and older job satisfaction seemed to be related to factors extrinsic to the educational process.

Chapter Three: The Quality of Teachers' Lives

A third primary objective of our work was to measure the quality of teachers' non-work lives and to explore the interaction between the individual and his work environment. Analysis of the 1971 and 1978 Quality of American Life Surveys revealed that teachers in both 1971 and 1978 reported being slightly more satisfied with life as a whole and slightly happier than both college educated non-teachers and the total sample. Moreover, teachers rated higher in terms of satisfaction with life than all other occupational groups in 1978, and in the 1971 survey teachers were a very close second to non-farm managers and administrators. When the results of the two surveys are averaged, teachers report being more satisfied with their lives than any other occupational group. When we explored teachers' satisfaction with specific life domains we found that the vast majority of teachers were very satisfied with their dwellings, neighborhood, and communities as places to live. Also a clear majority of teachers reported that they were satisfied with life in the United States.

Turning to the domain of work, we found that the vast majority of teachers indicated that they were very satisfied with their jobs, primarily because of the intrinsic rewards their work provided. They were, however, somewhat dissatisfied with their pay. Also, the high level of job security reported by teachers in 1971 declined sharply by 1978. Analysis of job security ratings by age group revealed that between 1971 and 1978 job security declined most sharply among teachers below 34 years of age. This is to be expected, since it is these teachers who have the least seniority and whose jobs are least secure in the face of the steady decline in enrollment in this period that has caused many school districts to layoff teachers each year. The data also reveal that between 1971 and 1978 teachers perceived that their chances for promotion dropped precipitously.

The vast majority of teachers also reported being very satisfied with how they spend their spare time and with their standard of living. A narrow majority were satisfied with the level of their savings and investments. The vast majority of teachers also reported being satisfied with their family life and their marriage. However, divorce and separation were far more common among teachers than among either CENTs or workers in the total sample. Similar results obtained from our analysis of the employment quality data and the national longitudinal labor surveys. In the three employment quality surveys and the three waves of the longitudinal labor survey that we analyzed, teachers were more likely to divorce or separate than either CENTs or workers in the total sample. Thus, while the vast majority of married teachers reported being satisfied with this aspect of life, a substantial minority of teachers were so dissatisfied with married life that they either divorced or separated from their spouses.

Finally, we sought to determine which of the specific domains of experience are the important determinants of overall satisfaction with life. Multiple regression analysis revealed that satisfaction with family life is the best predictor of life satisfaction. For the 1971 survey data and for the 1978 sub-sample of teachers over 43 years of age, satisfaction with spare time is the domain second most strongly related to life satisfaction. However, for the 1978 sub-sample of teachers below age 35, satisfaction with work is second only to satisfaction with family life in terms of strength of prediction to satisfaction with life. While for younger teachers satisfaction with work is an important determinant of life satisfaction, for older teachers it is not. Quite unlike younger teachers, the life satisfaction of older teachers seems to depend upon the perceived quality of their lives outside of work. For them, satisfaction with family life, spare time, and savings and investments are the important determinants of life satisfaction, not job satisfaction. These findings suggest that among younger teachers job satisfaction and life satisfaction are more closely related to their assessment of their role in the educational process than it is for older teachers.

These results suggest the following picture of teachers' non-work lives and the interaction between the individual and his work environment. Teachers appear to be quite satisfied with life as a whole, and with most of the important domains of life experience: housing, neighborhood, community, work, spare time, standard of living, and family life. Though most teachers report that they are satisfied with their marriages, divorce and separation are not uncommon. Further, only a bare majority of teachers are satisfied with their savings and investments. Finally, among teachers, satisfaction with family life is the most important determinant of life satisfaction and fragmentary evidence suggests that for younger teachers, but not older teachers, satisfaction with work is also an important source of satisfaction with life.

Chapter Four: A Longitudinal Analysis of Teachers' Attitudes Toward Work

A fourth goal of our research was to examine the work experience of groups of teachers over an extended period of time. To do this we analyzed a series of surveys conducted over a ten-year period on the same group of individuals. This approach, which yields a "motion picture" of teachers' experience over time, gives us a chance to determine whether our findings based on cross-sectional data hold up under longitudinal analysis.

Without exception our analysis of the National Longitudinal Surveys of Labor Market Experience confirmed the results that were obtained from our cross-sectional analysis. Dynamic analysis revealed that teachers divorce or separate slightly more frequently than CENTs or workers in the total sample. Also, longitudinal analysis confirmed that teachers earned lower incomes than CENTs and about the same incomes from their main jobs as workers in the total sample; when family income is considered, CENTs still earned more on the average than teachers, but teachers' income from all sources is greater than the family income of workers in the total sample.

Consistent with the results of cross-sectional analysis, teachers consistently reported being slightly more satisfied with their work than CENTs and much more satisfied with their work than workers in the total sample. Also consistent with cross-sectional analysis, when asked what they liked most about their work, teachers mentioned intrinsic aspects of work slightly more often than CENTs and much more often than workers in the total sample. Conversely, teachers were least likely and workers in the total sample most likely to mention that what they liked most about their jobs were the extrinsic aspects of work. Finally, there is some evidence to suggest that teachers harbor greater feelings of ambivalence toward their work than workers in other fields.

As stated in the introduction, a major goal of our research was to use current adult development theory to provide an analytic framework for our study of teachers' attitudes toward work. Based on a literature review and our own observations, we hypothesized that some teachers experience a loss of vitality, interest, and satisfaction with their work as well as a decline in morale and life satisfaction at some point during middle adulthood, which is often defined as extending from about age 35 to about age 50. Could this hypothesized phenomenon be related to the psychosocial changes that some adult developmental psychologists believe characterize middle adulthood? To shed light on this question we adopted age as a key explanatory variable.

We were unable to uncover more than fragmentary evidence to confirm our hypothesis that some teachers experience a decline in job satisfaction, work related motivation, and/or life satisfaction during middle age. Of all the aspects of work and of life that we examined, only in the cases of family life and marriage did satisfaction decline in mid-life. We did find, however, that attitudes toward work and life appear to be related to age in a systematic way. Among teachers job satisfaction and satisfaction with life as a whole and with most domains of life experiences increased slightly but consistently with age. It appears, then, that these data provide little support for the hypothesis that middle adulthood is a time of transition or crisis during which basic values and life patterns are called into question and morale and satisfaction decline.

Though we were able to find little empirical evidence in support of the much discussed phenomenon of mid-life or mid-career crisis, we do not think that our data allowed us to give this hypothesis a rigorous test. We simply did not have enough cases at hand to analyze this issue in the detail necessary to come to firm conclusions. As outlined in the Introduction, plots of job satisfaction and life satisfaction by age using data from the 1971 and 1978 Quality of Life Surveys revealed that for the total sample (1971 N = 2164; 1978 N = 3691) job satisfaction and life satisfaction declined sharply among 45-59 year olds. This trend is discernible when eleven age categories are used (18-24, 25-29, 30-34, . . ., 65-69, 70+) but it is not discernible if only three age categories are used. Since we only had enough teachers in our samples to use three age categories, our analytic tools may not have been sensitive enough to pick up age relationships that may exist in the population.

This analytic issue points up an important problem that is all-but-unavoidable in the analysis of specific populations using multipurpose survey data: small sample sizes. A statistical rule of thumb is that 200 cases are required to get good population estimates from sample cases, yet only one of the data sets we analyzed had this many cases (National Longitudinal Surveys of Labor Market Experience, Mature Women); the other six had between 37 and 94 respondents who were teachers. One data set, the 1973-1977 Quality of Employment Panel Survey, had so few complete cases of teachers, 32, that analysis was not deemed worthwhile. Clearly, making inferences about a population based on single samples of less than 100 is risky. For this reason, we have pursued our research questions through the analysis of several small samples under the rationale that the chances of finding the same pattern of results in a number of different, though small, samples would be remote. Fortunately, the data from several different surveys did reveal clearly identifiable patterns. Nevertheless, because of the small sample sizes we have analyzed here, we offer our findings as hypotheses to be tested.

A second limitation of using multipurpose surveys is that the investigator has no control over the choice of questions put to respondents. For this reason users of multipurpose survey data must tailor their research to fit the survey instrument, and not the other way around. In the present case, we would have liked to have known more about perceived job stress and perceived work related motivation than the surveys we used could tell us. But because ours was a secondary analysis, we were unable to overcome this problem. Still another problem associated with the secondary analysis of survey data concerns interviewer bias. Since we played no role in the collection of the data we explored, we had no control over interview procedures and are unaware of the nature of the bias that these procedures produced. A final limitation of using data others have collected is that generally the raw data are not readily available. As a result, one has no choice but to use the published coding scheme, which is often different in subtle but important ways from the interview coding scheme.

Though the secondary analysis of survey data has its limitations, it is nevertheless a very worthwhile research strategy because it provides an opportunity to conduct extensive exploratory analysis at relatively low cost. Should exploratory analysis yield results that warrant further study, then a research project based on the collection of primary data can be planned. Quite often exploratory analysis leads to the discovery, by chance or sagacity, of interesting and important results which were not originally sought. These serendipitous discoveries are often the basis of new lines of inquiry.

Policy Speculations and Needed Research

As the preceeding summary shows, our study has identified several differences between perceived job satisfaction of teachers and other teachers' attitudes toward work and those of other workers. We have also shown that there are some differences in the situation, attitudes, and perceived job satisfaction of teachers of different ages. Even though many of our findings were confirmed by independent, albeit small samples, we recognize that our conclusions can only be tentative. Nevertheless, we are tempted to draw policy implications from these findings. We recognize, however, the limitations imposed by the small samples we have analyzed and offer policy speculations rather than policy suggestions. In this section, we also offer several suggestions for future research that seem warranted based on this exploratory study.

The observations that follow are based upon an analysis of the three data sets described above and other activities related to this project. Some have come from our review of the growing literature in this field (see bibliography in Appendices). We were also fortunate in having the assistance of a panel of teachers (list of participants included in Appendices) who helped interpret our findings and speculate on their meaning and implications for policy and research.

Policy Speculations

> Factors extrinsic to the educational process seem to make a difference in the satisfaction of older teachers. It may be desirable to find ways to change this so they, like younger teachers, find satisfaction in aspects of their work closely related to instruction. We also found that teachers more than other college educated persons feel locked-in to their jobs. In both cases greater attention may have to be paid to (a) the quality of the workplace (the school), and (b) creating environments that are more responsive to the needs of older teachers including job enrichment, higher income, sabbaticals, greater challenge, and more effective in-service training. The ability to create periodic change in one's work may be an important factor in

job satisfaction. This may be facilitated by developing ways of encouraging mobility within school systems. Programs that facilitate the change of roles and functions within schools, such as inter-school exchanges, visiting teachers, temporary changes of role (i.e., teacher to administrator), or the creation of different levels of teaching (mentoring) could prove useful. Programs that facilitate the change of roles and functions between schools or between a school and non-school setting could prove beneficial to everyone involved.

Teachers of different ages seem to derive satisfaction from different aspects of their jobs. Designing jobs and making assignments which capitalize on the different expectations of teachers at different ages may be a desirable procedure. Young teachers (up to 35 years of age) seem to expect opportunities to express their creativity, to be involved in new programs and have close association with students, and to invest a considerable amount of time on the job. Older teachers (35+) expect opportunities to exert leadership and spend less time on the job, while expressing more need for security, and more concern about their collegial relationships.

Beginning teachers have high expectations that may be unreasonable; they also express the greatest dissatisfaction with their job. Because of the apparent lack of fit between the preconceived notions of many incoming teachers and the realities of life in the classroom, there may be a need for pre-service training to ensure that new teachers have a realistic understanding of the tasks that they will be expected to perform.

Specially developed career development activities for different groups of teachers may have to be established to assist them in making the transition to other jobs that are more satisfying or even to a new career. Outplacement services for school districts may benefit teachers as well as school systems.

Our data seem to suggest that teaching as an occupation can be conceived of developmentally, as having a series of stages that function in relationship to time and rank as well as age. These stages need to be identified (novice to master expert) and studied. This suggests that teachers would receive different in-service training and counseling as a function of their particular stage of development. These in-service activities would be matched to the particular career stage of each teacher. As it is now, in-service activity does not typically take into account stage of career development.

If current work conditions for teachers are such that they foster alienation and job dissatisfaction, professional development programs should be designed to reduce such outcomes, particularly among young teachers. What may be needed are major structural modifications in the teaching occupation. Perhaps it is time to reward teachers differentially on the basis of agreed-upon performance measures. Another possibility is a return to differentiated staffing patterns, an idea that has all but been forgotten with the rise of teacher unionism, but one that could provide teachers with the possibility of hierarchical mobility, including an increase in supervisory responsibility as master teachers.

We are currently seeing a sort of inforced mobility across subject areas as a function of contract. Teachers are laid off by seniority so that those who remain are sometimes teaching in subjects or at levels for which they are unprepared. This, of course, has policy implications for retraining these displaced teachers.

Our study identified a fairly substantial dip in job satisfaction in the middle years. This suggests that special attention may be required in assessing the special needs of teachers at mid-career. Also, special counseling and training programs may be beneficial for this age group of teachers.

The fact that we did not find as many group differences as we thought might exist just emphasizes something that seems obvious but is often forgotten: people are quite different. This means that in-service training programs, job assignments, and personnel practices require considerable sensitivity to individual differences.

We found that job satisfaction was extremely high among teachers. This finding seems to conflict with much of the literature on teaching in the U.S. We can only speculate as to the reason for this disparity. Maybe it can be attributed to a difference between teachers' public and private assessment of their jobs or maybe they expect more from their roles than other college educated persons.

Needed Research

A study based on a large N is needed to follow up on the hypotheses that emerged from our research. If so, sampling procedures should be stratified to permit comparisons between males and females, different age groups and teachers in urban, rural and suburban settings.

We found that job satisfaction among teachers is very high but we learned little about the specific factors that contribute to job satisfaction? What are the more specific age-related needs of teachers? What impact do teachers of different ages and sex have on the work environment? On student performance?

We found that some teachers do have low job satisfaction and in fact there is a significant decline in job satisfaction for all workers in the middle years. We need to know more about what causes this dip in job satisfaction and whether or not it is due to age or other factors. In particular, we need to know more about the mid-life experience of teachers.

Does teacher dissatisfaction with their mobility inside and outside the system affect other components of their work life? Do the effects of age, sex, and experience on the general satisfaction of teachers, as compared to other kindred occupations, relate to other variables usually considered important in work life such as working conditions and pay?

Are work-related problems reported by some teachers causing a high degree of stress among teachers? Needed is a study (comparative in that other occupations are studied) of occupational stress and its relationship to performance and satisfaction.

Are the work incentives of younger teachers different from those of older teachers? What are the major work incentives of teachers by age, sex, and stage in their career? What are the major work incentives for younger teachers if they can not anticipate promotion, mobility or significant financial rewards?

Job satisfaction measures may have limited utility as an index to the perceptions of work conditions or the perceived quality of a particular work setting. The measures we used: (global measures) may be tapping idealized notions about teaching as a career. For teachers to say they were not satisfied may mean in effect a denial of the original occupational choice -- the decision to teach. Perhaps what is needed is some kind of success index (effectiveness) which looks at ultimate concerns of teachers as well as primary or daily concerns, and possibly non-work factors (i.e., family, friends, avocations).

Our data suggest the need to attend more carefully to the reasons why teachers are entering the teaching profession. What kinds of people become teachers and why? What are their motivations, views of life, education, society, or themselves? This could be followed over time to ascertain the extent to which teaching meets their needs or their needs change to fit the situation.

We need to study the movement of teachers through different stages of development, examine this movement or lack of it and better understand the factors that facilitate and hinder this movement.

We have not looked at the relationship between job satisfaction measures and teacher performance or student behavior. Are locked in, dissatisfied teachers poorer teachers than teachers who are content or who believe they are making progress in their careers?

There is a need for studies across occupations to arrive at some kind of baseline way of examining teaching as an occupation. The work of Lipsky, M. Street Level Bureaucracy, Sage, New York: 1980, represents one step in this direction. Our data suggest in part that teaching may not in every respect, be a profession, to be contrasted with law, medicine, dentistry, etc. Characteristics of teaching are quite different than the above mentioned professions. What is the implication of this? Is it true?

Our study raised many questions about the relationship of teachers of different ages and circumstances to their occupation. We wished at many points that our sample size had been large enough to permit conclusions to be drawn and detailed analysis to be performed. Instead, we offer the tentative conclusions presented above and a few speculations on policy and needed research. It is our hope that our retrospective excursion into these data sources have provided insight into the career experience of teachers as well as encouragement to others contemplating similar studies.

Appendix A

Mid-Career References

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Appendix B
Advisory Panel

Advisory Panel

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Elizabeth Robson, Ann Arbor Public Schools

Patricia Pokay, South Lyon Public Schools

Sharlene Minus, Ann Arbor Public Schools

Eleanor Heating, Okemos Public Schools

Linda Johnson, Ann Arbor Public Schools

Jean Hutt, Saline Public Schools

Lee Hansen, Ann Arbor Public Schools.

Appendix C

Worklife Issues of Teachers and Other Professionals

WORKLIFE ISSUES OF TEACHERS AND OTHER PROFESSIONALS

by

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The University of Michigan

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Contemporary literature describing the quality of teachers' worklife is frequently characterized by terms such as "burnout", "stressful", "frustrating", and the like (Adams, 1975; Bardo, 1979; Kyriacou and Sutcliffe, 1979; Lee and Pruitt, 1979; Walsh, 1979). Discussions about the quality of teacher worklife are imbedded in a social context where the mean age of teachers is increasing, fewer young teachers are hired, a general oversupply of teachers continues, and preparation programs are under close scrutiny. These conditions raise important questions about the future of the teacher profession (Howsam, 1980; Lortie, 1975; McDaniel, 1979). Unfortunately, useful data, particularly regarding teacher perceptions of working conditions, are in short supply.

Congruence between teachers' needs and aspirations and the quality of employment is a subset of the quality of worklife of the population at large. Are the worklife concerns of teachers unique or are they representative of all workers? Existing national surveys provide some clues. One such, The 1977 Quality of Employment Survey (Quinn and Staines, 1979) was conducted by the Survey Research Center of the Institute for Social Research, The University of Michigan. Although funded by the U.S. Department of Labor for purposes other than educational research, this large collection of many psychological and demographic variables yielded data, through retrospective analysis, about teachers' perceptions of their occupation. Data about earnings and fringe benefits, health and safety, job security and mobility, job satisfaction, motivation to work, job content, and general life satisfaction were collected. Findings on quality of employment including worker well-being are reported in this paper. Teacher responses are compared to workers in other occupations where appropriate, and data are presented for three different teacher age groups.

For the job satisfaction variables, data are compared from similar studies conducted by the Survey Research Center in 1969 and 1973, thus providing eight-year trend evidence.

Method

The 1977 Quality of Employment Survey utilized a multistage-area probability design which yielded a net sample of 1515 workers "...representative of all occupations in the United States" (p. 5). Weighting procedures were used to insure the precise representation of the population thus increasing the effective sample to 2291. In this sample were 100 teachers at the elementary and secondary levels. They were compared on certain variables to other "professional and technical workers" (268 respondents) such as lawyers, physicians, engineers and the like using the 1970 census code to define the category, and to all remaining workers (1923 respondents) in the study.

Results and Discussion

Specific Indicators of Job Satisfaction

Respondents were asked questions about specific job dimensions. The answers clustered into the following six factorially determined categories: 1) comfort - an index of the solid creature comfort provided by the job (seven questions); 2) challenge - reflecting a worker's desire to be stimulated by the job and to be able to use acquired skills at work (six questions); 3) financial rewards - formed from questions about pay and fringe benefits (three questions); 4) relations with coworkers - reflects attitudes toward other workers (three questions); 5) resource adequacy - taps the worker's wishes for adequate resources such as equipment, information, and good supervision to do the job well (eleven questions); and

6) promotions - an index of whether or not chances for promotion are good and are processed fairly (three questions). In responding, workers were asked to indicate how true (very, somewhat, not too, not at all) the question was about their job. The "very true" response was scored four and "not at all true" was scored one. Mean scores of questions in each category were obtained for each of the three data years. Also, the specific responses were coded by each category and averaged to form a "specific satisfaction" index for each of the three years.

The data presented in Table 1 show that there are significant differences among the three groups in all categories except relations with coworkers and in the overall specific satisfaction index.

Insert Table 1 About Here

The Scheffé method for multiple comparisons revealed significant changes (increases) between 1969 and 1973 data on comfort ($p < .05$) and resource adequacy ($p < .05$), with no significant changes in any of the other categories or on the specific satisfaction index. Comparing 1973 with 1977 data revealed significant changes (all decreases) on the following categories: comfort ($p < .05$), challenge ($p < .05$), financial rewards ($p < .05$), promotions and on the specific satisfaction index ($p < .05$). Scheffé comparisons showed no significant changes between 1969 and 1977. These data indicate a decline in the specific indicators of job satisfaction for teachers between 1973 and 1977 with movement in the direction of the lower 1969 values.

A specific satisfaction index was calculated for teachers by three age categories: under 34, 35 to 55, and 56 and over. In 1969 no significant age differences were found for the specific satisfaction index, but in

1973 and 1977 the 34 and under group had a significantly lower mean value than the other two age groups: 1973 $F(2,93)=8.4147$, $p<.001$; and 1977 $F(2,94)=4.7726$, $p<.02$.

In comparing specific satisfaction indices of teachers with other professionals and other workers (see Table 2), no significant differences were found in 1969, but teachers had a significantly higher mean than both sets of workers in 1973, $F(1,307)=4.7324$, $p<.05$; $F(1,1846)=13.151$, $p<.001$; and other workers in 1977, $F(1,1978)=7.4570$, $p<.01$.

Insert Table 2 About Here

Examining the 1977 data by specific categories revealed only one significant difference between teachers and other professionals. Teachers were higher $F(1,362)=4.3379$, $p<.05$ than other professionals on the comfort indicator. However teachers were significantly higher than all other workers in three categories: comfort $F(1,1981)=7.6532$, $p<.01$; challenge $F(1,1981)=30.111$, $p<.001$; and relations with coworkers $F(1, 1981)=7.8358$, $p<.01$.

The data reported in this section suggest that in 1977, teachers felt less satisfied with their jobs than teachers in 1973. Teachers in 1973, who were probably experiencing a peak in educational funding and employment opportunities, reported greater satisfaction than teachers in either of the other years of the study. Young teachers, in particular, seem to be the most disappointed with their jobs. However, 1977 teachers are more comfortable with their environment than all other workers. They seem to find more challenge in their work and better relations with their coworkers.

Job Investment, Security and Mobility

Analysis of questions asked in 1977 about job investment, security and mobility reveals that teachers report higher job investment, and feel more secure, but perceive themselves as less mobile than other professional workers. To illustrate, teachers differed significantly from other professionals on the following dimensions: more investment in the job, $x^2(3)=9.43$, $p <.02$; greater difficulty in finding another job, $x^2(2)=21.19$, $p <.001$; and less likelihood of looking for another job, $x^2(2)=7.57$, $p <.02$.

These responses suggest that teachers see themselves as constrained in seeking alternative employment, a phenomenon defined as "lock-in" (Quinn, 1972). The data provided below provide further evidence that teachers may be experiencing lock-in. Teachers differed significantly from other professionals on the following items designed to measure lock-in: agreed there is no shortage of workers in their geographical area with the same experience, training and skills, $x^2(1)=15.88$, $p <.001$; agreed there is a shortage of jobs in their geographical area for people with similar experience, training and skills, $x^2(1)=14.67$, $p <.001$; and indicated the job they now hold is the same job as when they came to work for their present employer, $x^2(1)=11.75$, $p <.001$. The comparison between teachers and the non-professional worker category is even more pronounced. These responses suggest that teachers believe they have less opportunity for occupational mobility than other workers. It may be that job change is no longer a practical way for teachers to express discontent, as it once was. Individuals who entered teaching expecting employment mobility, as many did in the past, may now feel constrained or trapped by their career decision. How teachers view their potential mobility may influence their satisfaction with teaching and their relationships with administrators and pupils, although we have no evidence on this matter.

Work-related Problems

The percentage of teachers reporting work-related problems is shown in Table 3.

Insert Table 3 About Here

The picture emerging here is one where teachers do not have enough time to complete a job at which they work very hard in an unpleasant environment with a high risk of catching a disease; they cannot choose their coworkers, cannot get their duties or assignment changed and are faced with multiple demands; they receive insufficient feedback from superiors and have limited opportunities for promotion. This finding suggests that teachers have little sense of power or control over their worklife.

Klinger (1977) has suggested that power and control are central incentives in work situations, and their absence can contribute to feelings of futility and alienation. According to Klinger, alienated workers have a range of options open to them from changing the job to performing it in a very routine fashion. People who choose this latter course seek incentives in other sectors of their lives. In this study, 86 percent of the teachers state they do not have much energy left at the end of the work day, yet only 24 percent claim interference between job and family life. One interpretation of this finding is that teachers, having routinized their job, do not let it intrude into other sectors of life containing more valued incentives.

Life Satisfaction

Another indicator of worker well-being is general life satisfaction. Two questions measured this variable: (1) "Taking all things together, how would you say things are these days? Would you say you're very happy, pretty happy, or not too happy these days?" And (2) "In general, how satisfying do you find the ways you're spending your life these days? Would you call it completely satisfying, pretty satisfying, or not very satisfying?" Teachers differed significantly from other professionals on both items with 48 percent responding "very happy" as compared to both 29 percent for other professionals, $x^2(2)=11.32$, $p<.005$; and 29 percent of teachers indicating 'completely satisfying" as compared to 12 percent for the others $x^2(2)=15.44$, $p<.001$. These findings suggest that, despite concerns about their occupation, teachers are more satisfied with their lives than other professionals. Evenso, combining the teacher responses on the two questions reveals that the mean response increased from 3.40 in 1969 to 3.93 in 1973 and declined to 3.65 in 1977, paralleling the decline in specific job satisfaction reported earlier. Also, most teachers reported that they were less than very happy and less than completely satisfied with their lives.

Conclusions

The national sample used in this study, although rigorous in its representation of all teachers, is too small to permit generalization. The analysis reported should be used as a basis for further investigation. Does teachers' dissatisfaction with their mobility inside and outside the system affect other components of their worklife? Do the effects of age, sex, and experience on the general satisfaction of teachers, as compared to other kindred occupations, relate to other variables usually considered important in worklife? Are work-related problems reported by teachers causing a high degree of stress among teachers? Is job routinization related to teaching performance? What are the major work incentives for younger teachers if they cannot anticipate promotion, mobility or significant financial rewards? Does the concept of lock-in provide a way of classifying teachers for a more fruitful explanation of the effects of the working environment?

The findings reported in this paper also suggest areas for professional development. If current work conditions for teachers are such that they foster alienation and job routinization, then professional development programs should be designed to reduce such outcomes, particularly among young teachers. What may be needed are major structural modifications in the teaching occupation. Perhaps it is time to reward teachers differentially on the basis of agreed upon performance measures. Another possibility is a return to differentiated staffing patterns, an idea lost with the rise of teacher unionism, but one providing teachers with the possibility of hierarchial mobility including increased supervisory responsibilities as master teachers.

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Table 1

Job Satisfaction Indicators for Teachers, 1969, 1973, 1977

	MEAN			ANOVA	
Indicators	1969[a]	1973[b]	1977[c]	F	P
Specific satisfaction values					
Comfort	2.98	3.23	3.02	5.9919	.0029[d]
Challenge	3.44	3.66	3.44	4.5880	.0111[d]
Financial rewards	3.16	3.31	2.84	10.769	.0000[d]
Relations with coworkers.	3.49	3.67	3.49	2.4830	.0856
Resource adequacy	3.40	3.66	3.50	3.6314	.0279[d]
Promotions	___*	2.59	2.18	11.213	.0010[d]
Specific satisfaction index	3.28	3.42	3.21	3.5394	.0305[d]

[a] n = 57

[b] n = 96

[c] n = 98

[d] p <.05

* not collected in 1969

Table 2

Specific Satisfaction Index Comparing Teachers with Other Workers

	Teachers		Other Professionals		ANOVA		Other Workers		ANOVA	
Years	Mean	N	Mean	N	F	P	Mean	N	F	P
1969	3.28	57	3.34	168	.48784	.4856	3.27	1284	.10027	.9203
1973	3.42	96	3.29	213	4.7324	.0304	3.20	1752	13.151	.0003
1977	3.21	98	3.16	266	.61174	.4346	3.05	1881	7.4570	.0064

Table 3

Work-related Problems Reported by Teachers, 1977

Problem	Percent Reporting Problem
Effort put into job beyond what required	99
Not much energy left when get off work	86
Can't decide who to work with	86
Not likely to be offered another job for good work	85
Can't decide break time	79
Difficult to get duties changed	77
Can't satisfy everyone	77
Not enough time to get job done	73
Poor chance for promotion	71
Not enough feedback from superiors	60
Risk of catching disease	56
Physical conditions of work place	52
Doing same things over and over	50
To satisfy some must upset others	47
Hard to tell impact of work	38
Skills underutilized in present job	37
Job and family life interfere	24

Appendix D

A Critical Analysis of Mid-Life Career Development Theory: Implications for Education and Work

A Critical Analysis of Mid-Life Career Development Theory: Implications for Education and Work

PURPOSE

The purpose of this analysis of mid-life theory is twofold. First, this paper discusses the limitations in developmental theory and argues that a multidimensional theory is needed to understand more fully the relationship between age and mid-life career development. Second, this paper discusses the implications of the multidimensional approach for policy and practice related to postsecondary education and work.

STUDYING MID-LIFE CAREERS

The most widely accepted definition of the term career is "a sequence of positions occupied by a person during the course of a lifetime" (Super, 1980, p. 283). If middle age is defined as approximately the years between 35 and 55, then mid-career is a sequence of positions which a person occupies during this age period. Immediately one is struck by the difficulty of studying a span of 20 or more years as a single period in an individual's life. Contrastingly, other fields such as childhood and adolescent psychology study human behavior over relatively short periods.

In present practice, the mid-life period of workers has been treated merely as the time between the end of career exploration and the beginning of retirement. This period has been generally considered a time when workers continue doing the same job and adapting to any change in the work environment. Although many adults spend most of their adult lives working, employers have only begun to recognize that the needs of workers may change as they age (Root, 1981). Walz and Benjamin (1980) have described the popular beliefs that prevent us from understanding the dynamic aspects of this period more fully:

> The prevailing view has been that "being an adult" means that one has come to terms with life, copes successfully with crisis and change, and is generally in command of his/her world. Indeed, in examining developmental phases in career behavior, some theorists have called this period of life the time of "crystallization" (Ginzberg, et al, 1951), "establishment and maintenance" (Super, 1953), and "stability" (Miller and Form, 1951). (p. 2)

The difficulty in developing a comprehensive theory about a period of life that represents almost a third of normal lifespan is one of several issues which this paper discusses in relation to mid-career development theory, an area of emerging importance.

Human resource policies and programs have been based primarily on the needs, interests, and skills of the younger members of the work force (Hall, 1976), and are less sensitive to the middle aged employees who constitute a majority of workers. Because of this age bias, the potential contribution of this portion of the work force is not fully utilized and the problems which hinder the performance of many workers are neither fully recognized nor often addressed (Root, 1981).

Finding ways to better utilize the resources of middle-aged workers is important for many reasons. As the American population ages, the work force will also age. Declining birth rates and increased longevity means that employers in the future will depend increasingly on older employees. As people live longer and try to cope with the effects of inflation, more workers are likely to decide to stay in the labor force longer. New age discrimination laws and the raising and, in some cases, elimination of mandatory retirement have placed the middle years further from retirement for many workers, giving these years new meaning within one's life span. Moreover, the growing number of women who have entered the work force in recent years has resulted in large numbers of middle-aged people employed for the first time or after many years absence. Like men, women need help adjusting to the entry or re-entry process. In addition, technological changes are rapidly making the training of many workers obsolete, creating new jobs unknown just a few years ago, and eliminating others — all of which have a disproportionate effect on the middle-aged worker.

Another career dimension that would benefit from a better understanding of mid-life is education. Educational systems typically concentrate on preparing the young to enter careers and give short shrift to adult education, which is frequently a marginal activity that lacks the seriousness of career preparation programs. Weathersby and Tarule (1980) have identified two major reasons for considering seriously the educational needs of people throughout adulthood. First with the decreasing pool of traditional college students (18-22 years of age), it is in an institution's "enlightened self-interest" to attract and educate adult students. Secondly, educational programs offer adults an opportunity for career advancement, career renewal, or career change. A fully articulated adult education system can do much to help create a "learning society" where people of all ages are continually enhancing their careers through continuing education. Since educational programs are most effective when they are responsive to the needs, goals, and learning styles of their student, only a clear understanding of adulthood, and middle age in particular, will provide reliable guidelines for the development of adult education policy.

THEORY AND RESEARCH

What is known about the mid-life years? Although much has been written about the stages of life-span development (Ginzberg, et al., 1951; Holland, 1973; Knefelkamp and Slepitza, 1976: Lofquist and Davis, 1969; Roe, 1956; Schein, 1978; and Super, et al., 1957), and about middle age (Gould, 1978; Grant, 1969; Levinson, et al., 1974; Lowenthal, et al., 1974; Sheehy, 1976; and Vaillant, 1977), we have little understanding of the dynamics of these phenomena. To date, theory and research have neither adequately described this period of life in terms of its impact on individuals nor provided the knowledge needed to create programs to facilitate individual development (Super and Hall, 1978).

Adult development research has characterized middle age as a period of transitions and conflict (Grant, 1969; Levinson, 1976; Lowenthal, et al., 1975; Vaillant, 1977). Research of this type is advancing the idea that many of the experiences of middle-aged people are linked to predictable life events (Weathersby and Tarule, 1980). Additionally, related literature on such topics as the "mid-life crisis" (Sheehy, 1976) and career change (Thomas, 1979) are calling attention to the special role that one's occupation plays in personal development during the middle years. It seems clear from this body of developmental literature that many important changes take place in the middle years and that the implications for one's career are likely to be significant.

Representative of this developmental research is the work of Levinson. He proposes one of the more elaborate theories of adult psychosocial development. His theory is based on research over a nine year period using a sample of 40 men age 35-45. Through an analysis of life histories and other literary material, Levinson developed a set of concepts with specific emphasis on what he calls the "mid-life transition." He found that around age 22, men move into a period of early adulthood, followed by a mid-life transition between ages 40 and 45, and then another period of middle adulthood, and finally a late adult transition between ages 60 and 65. According to Levinson, all transition periods involve crisis, but the mid-life transition (similar to the concept of "mid-life crisis") is a period evoking "tumultuous struggles within the self and the external world." and it may be a "time of severe crisis." He has observed that transitions are a normal part of life, which some people move through easily while others experience many difficulties.

Research by Levinson and others has provided the basis for a development perspective that argues that age related changes in the emotional, social, and physical aspects of one's life are predictable. Their findings suggest that there are regular stages of adult development, that life is a "continuous process of change, sequential development and continuity from birth to death" (Kimmel, 1974, p. 2).

While Levinson and others have examined adult development from an individual-centered perspective, some investigators have considered the interaction of the individual with their environment. Schein (1978) and Hall (1976) have postulated some beliefs about mid-life, career development within organizations. Schein believes that an understanding of how one changes throughout work and non-work life will help organizations match individual needs to organizational needs. This match, he believes, is the essence of human resource planning and development. Schein has identified what he considers to be major career and life problems that people face during mid-life:

problems of career

the decision to specialize or to generalize

establishing an identity that gains recognition within the organization

internal conflict caused by a clash between career expectations and reality

becoming an effective mentor to younger and less experienced employees

balancing one's involvement among work, family, and self-oriented activities

creating an awareness that leads to a positive reexamination of self

problems of life

realization of one's mortality

restimulation of feelings and conflicts that were experienced as an adolescent

changing roles and relationships within a changing family

realization that aging may limit opportunities

In his view, developmental tasks during mid-life involve the resolution of these problems.

Hall, influenced by Levinson et al. (1974), Erickson (1963), and Super (1957), has proposed his own model of career development (Hall, 1976). This "composite model of adult career stages" is presented in Figure 1.

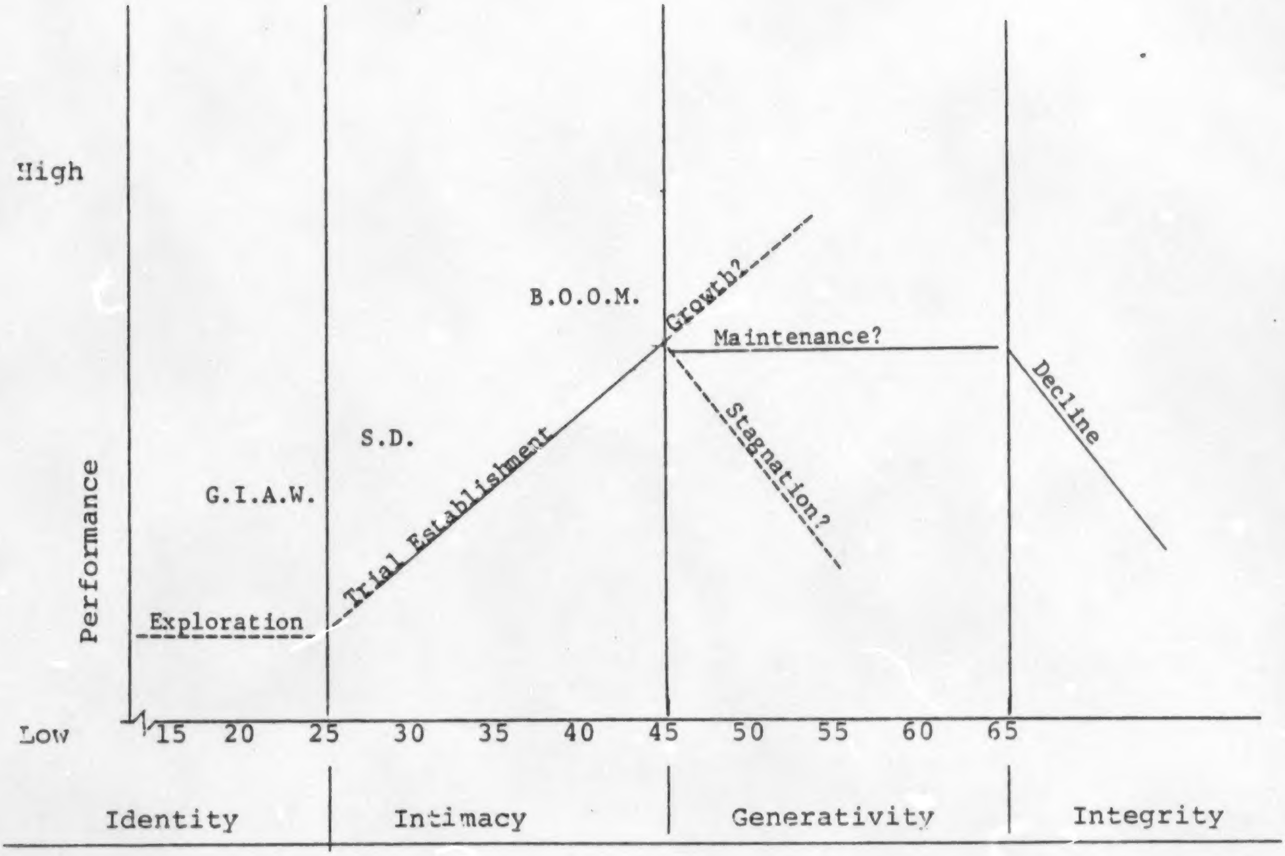

Figure 1 Stages in career development[1]

[1] G.I.A.W. = Getting Into the Adult World, S.D. = Settling Down, and B.O.O.M. = Becoming One's Own Man.

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Hall's model represents selective integration of Erikson's life cycle stages, Levinson's periods of transition, and Super's vocational life stages. However, the model deviates significantly from Super's theory with regard to the "maintenance" (mid-life) stage of development. Whereas Super defines this period as a time when ". . . little new ground is broken" (Super, Table 1. March, 1978), Hall includes the alternate possibilities of either "stagnation" with a decrease in performance or "growth" with an increase in performance.

Hall has concluded that the concerns of employees when they reach mid-career are the following:

an awareness of advancing age and awareness of death
an awareness of physical aging
the knowledge that not all career goals will be attained
the search for new life goals
changes in family relationships
changes in work relationships
a growing sense of obsolescence
a growing sense of decreased job mobility
an increased concern for job security (pp. 81-83)

These concerns, in addition to other problems, appear in Schein's description of mid-life.

Thomas (1979) tested three explanations of mid-life career change, a behavior considered characteristic of mid-life: 1) the counterculture explanation — change is spurred by a dissatisfaction with "mainstream society"; 2) the macrosocial explanation — change is an adaptation to social and economic conditions; and 3) the developmental explanation — change is a natural response to the particular life stage. His study of ". . . 73 men who had changed from high-status careers between 34 and 54 years of age (p. 203)" partially supports the developmental hypothesis. A third of the sample made their career changes between age 40 and 45. When asked why they decided to start a new career, 76 percent said that they wanted "to find more meaningful work" and 69 percent said that they wanted "to bring about a better fit between values and work" (Thomas, 1979, p. 206). Also, Thomas reported that "many" of his respondents chose careers that are "less traditionally masculine." Each of these findings lends credence to notions about mid-life proposed by Levinson (1977).

However, Thomas argues that the developmental position does not adequately explain career change. Not many men, he claims, either currently or historically, have sought a career change when they reached mid-life, and no single theory seems to explain why some people do and some people do not change careers during mid-life. Thomas posits a macrodevelopmental explanation which takes into consideration the interaction of the life cycle with the social environment.

Theory and research related to adult career development have made important contributions to knowledge in two major ways. First of all, they have contributed to a new awareness that certain problems and concerns are related to certain life stages. That these problems and concerns appear to be age related gives a more complete perspective on development across the total life-span of an individual. Secondly, there is a new awareness of the needs that are characteristic of many middle aged workers and how these needs relate to adult education and work organizations. There is much evidence to suggest that both adult education and work organizations could become more productive by being more responsive to the changing needs of adults (Weathersby and Tarule, 1980; Hall, 1976; Schein, 1978).

However, while the life-stage perspective provides conceptual order to the factors that appear to influence the work experience, drawing conclusions about mid-life from what is known is premature. An empirical base for adult career development intervention does not yet exist (Super and Hall, 1978). As stated by Brim (1976), the life-stage theories have been primarily wishful thinking:

> . . . there is as yet no evidence either for developmental periods or stages in the mid-life period, in which one event must come after another, or one personality change brings another in its wake. The existence of "stages," if proved true, would be a powerful concept in studying mid-life; meanwhile there is a danger of using this facile scheme as a cover for loose thinking about human development, without carrying forward the necessary hard-headed analyses of the evidence. (p. 8)

LIMITATIONS OF LIFE-STAGE RESEARCH

Research on mid-life career development is limited in three major ways: non-representative samples; unfounded conclusions about cause and effect relationships; and monolithic explanations of multifaceted processes. Each of these limitations is discussed below.

Non-representative Samples

With minor exceptions, much of adult development research has been based on non-representative samples. For example, Vaillant's work is based on a longitudinal study of Harvard men (Vaillant, et al., 1977). Levinson and his associates (1974) interviewed 40 men, between the ages of 35 and 45, who were living between Boston and New York and working in one of four occupations during the year 1969. Lowenthal and her associates (1974) studied four groups of male and female "transition-facers," including high-school seniors, newlyweds, middle-aged parents, and preretirees. Although some of Neugarten's findings come from a large data base representing all social classes, some of her major conclusions, such as the shift in time perspective during middle age, are drawn from interviews of "100 highly placed men and women" (Newgarten, p. 17, 1976). Sheehy (1976) interviewed people she calls the "pacesetter group" — healthy, motivated, and middle-class. Gould (1978) studied psychiatric outpatients and white middle-class men and women.

Two of the most influential theorists on life-stage development, Erikson (1963) and Super (1977) have based their beliefs about mid-life on observations of non-representative groups. Erikson, who probably has had the most influence on the construction of a life-stage framework within the field of developmental psychology, based his theoretical formulations on longitudinal studies of children, observations from his psychotherapy practice, and the biographies of highly creative individuals (Erikson, 1963). Although each of these data sources is without doubt rich in theoretical implications, one should not view Erikson's model as anything more than a highly tentative theory. His proposition that the primary task of mid-life is generativity has not been demonstrated conclusively for a representative sample of the adult population. In fact, his entire theory has yet to be tested empirically (Hall, 1976).

Super, who has probably had the most influence on a life-span approach to career development, has found support for many of his ideas from a longitudinal study of males (Super, 1957). The study, begun in 1951 with ninth-grade boys from Middletown, New York, has enabled him to observe his subjects in early adulthood but not yet middle-age. His belief that middle-age is a time of establishment and maintenance, although compelling in its logic, cannot be tested until his subjects are older, and then, only with his male population.

Schein's (1978) and Hall's (1976) studies of adult behavior in organizations have focused on elite groups for the most part. Schein's beliefs about career development are based primarily on a 12 year panel study of 44 graduates from the Sloan School of Management at MIT. To an important degree he has also been influenced by his 20 years of consulting with large corporations. Nor surprisingly, the people he has studied are primarily white, male, upwardly mobile, and business management oriented.

Hall studied new management recruits at AT&T (Berlew & Hall, 1966; Hall & Nougaim, 1968), Roman Catholic priests (Hall & Schnieder, 1973), business students (Hall & Foster, 1977), female college graduates in relation to their families (Hall, 1975), and research and development professionals (Hall & Mansfield, 1975). Although Hall's work is more diverse than possibly any other investigator of adult career development, the basis for his conclusions are findings from studies of highly educated, upwardly mobile, primarily male sub-groups of the general population.

Thomas' (1979) research on mid-life career change has a similar limitation. His sample is male and exclusively middle or upper middle-class, and college educated. Also, respondents were selected from managerial, professional, and technical professional occupations by means of a referral system.

In the interest of scientific inquiry it is certainly appropriate to posit theoretical descriptions of the life course and the characteristics of the mid-life years. However, as is evidenced from research cited here, most of what is currently postulated about mid-life is based on sub-groups which are not representative of all American workers. Weathersby's and Tarule's (1980) review of adult development research leads them to the conclusion that most ". . . generalizations about all of human development have been made from research samples of middle-class, white males" (p. 19). The research has concentrated on male managers and administrators. These groups make up less than 10% of the labor force (Issacson, 1977). Since about 45% of all women 16 years old and older are in the labor force (Issacson, 1977), an important segment of the working population has been overlooked. Women are concentrated in a small number of occupations (elementary teaching, secondary teaching, nursing, service work, clerical work, and blue collar machine operation) which have not been investigated in terms of career development. In addition, research has concentrated on workers who are projected to have continuous, ascending career paths within one occupational field. In reality, there are many exceptions to this "traditional" picture of work: factory workers in unstable industries (i.e., automotive), non-career military personnel, homemakers who plan a career change to coincide with family changes, and all workers whose occupations do not play a central role in their career identity.

Unfounded Conclusions

The accumulated evidence does not support a causal relationship between age and the crises of life. Brim (1976) argues this point in his discussion of adult development as a field of study:

> . . . it is in real danger from pop culture renderings of "life stages" from the public seizing on the idea of age-linked stages of development, such as the "male mid-life crisis," just as it seizes on astrology and tea-leaf reading. Certainly, the evidence does not justify linkage of crises either to stages, or to specific ages, during the mid-life period. (p. 7)

Brim does not deny that some men do undergo important personality changes during mid-life, but he argues that the causes are complex and varied and that there is no evidence that there are predictable, sequential stages of development (Brim, 1976). Other explanations, such as social environment, historical time, and the life history of the individual, may offer better predictors of crisis and change than one's age (Lowenthal, 1981). Zimbardo (1978) concludes from his review of the research that what is known about mid-life is ambiguous; it is not yet clear whether this period is "the best of times" or "the worst of times."

The causes of crisis and change during mid-life, and the degree of satisfaction with change, may have more to do with one's response to environment than with response to age. Fozard and Popkin (1978) have argued that the work and home environments of an individual can have a profound effect on that person's adjustment to aging. Hall (1976) has suggested that the degree of challenge provided by the work environment in a job is related to the quality of performance during later years. In addition, values which may stimulate important life decisions at various times during one's career vary greatly within any single age cohort (Perry, 1968). Lawrence's (1980) recent study of mid-life career changers did not find a common experience of crisis. She attributes this finding in part to the historical time in which her subjects live. It is the interaction of the individual with a rapidly changing society which provides the opportunity for either positive or negative consequences. Some people are able to adapt and develop intellectually and emotionally while others experience such great conflict that growth is blocked. Weathersby and Tarule (1980) conclude from their review of developmental stage theory, "Environment is a powerful factor in facilitating development; poverty, hostility, or serious deprivation can place ceilings on growth (p. 37)."

Monolithic Explanations

Shaped by their desire to formulate simple (and possibly original) descriptions for an emerging area of study, investigators have seized on monolithic explanations for mid-life career development. They have created one-dimensional theories to explain highly complex behavior. One of these behaviors, considered unique to mid-life, is "midcareer change." This behavior has been studied from the perspective of those who change careers and those who do not change. Hall (1979) challenges this way of looking at the phenomenon by presenting midcareer change on a continuum of intensity depending on the specific nature of the shift. One must examine the kind of change in order to fully understand the event. Taking a new job in the same organization may be a quite different experience from taking a new job in a different organization or a new job in a new organization which is also a different type of institution (such as change from government agency to business). Hall adds that any occupational career change is affected by other, concurrent changes in the person's life, such as changes involving family, location, or spouse's career.

Not only is the event itself highly complex but the factors which cause "midcareer change" also appear to be highly complex. Thomas' (1979) conclusion that career change during mid-life is best explained by a "macrodevelopmental hypothesis" emphasizes the complexity of the change. Developmental (life stage) explanations alone, without consideration of the interaction of intrapersonal and environmental factors, do not adequately account for what is happening.

When a career change does occur it may not necessarily have crisis proportions in a person's life. In fact, the change may be a move toward greater stability rather than a radical departure from one's life course (Hall, 1979). The person may be seeking a better match of career interests, personality characteristics, skills, and realities of that person's life situation with the qualities of a particular job. This may be a match that was never fulfilled during earlier career exploration processes. This suggests that any career change is part of a process which occurs over time. The specific action taken by the individual to find a new job or to modify an old job plays a relatively minor part in a process of preparation and decision-making which has occurred throughout the person's life and is affected by the person's environment.

Therefore, to consider "midcareer change" as a one-dimensional event of a particular life stage is an oversimplification of adult development. To attempt to explain the causes of this change in monolithic terms is to ignore many important dimensions of a theoretically complex process.

CONCLUSIONS

This analysis disputes the belief that mid-life is a predictable time of crises, conflicts, transitions, or even stability and maintenance. The theory and research that is reviewed in this paper does not support a cause and effect relationship between age and certain personality and career changes. There seems to be no doubt that middle age is a time of some trauma and change for some people, but depicting mid-life as a sequence of developmental stages characterized as a problematic period of adulthood is not reasonable based on the evidence. Just as there are great differences among children and adolescents, adults can choose growth, maintenance, stagnation, or decline.

Career development is a complex process influenced by many factors. Individual characteristics interact with social-environmental characteristics to shape the decisions of the person. "Career change," a behavior thought to be highly characteristic of people's needs during mid-life, must be considered in all of its various facets if its relationship to mid-life is to be fully understood. In addition, career change should not be considered unique to mid-life. The process seems to be characteristic of most age periods of the life-span. Career change during youth is labelled "exploration"; if it occurs for new professionals, it is often considered a coping mechanism for "burn-out"; career change among older workers is considered pre-retirement or retirement planning. Shifts in one's work at each of these stages is significant, and potentially as traumatic or growth-enhancing as during any other stage.

The career development of adults has not been studied to the extent that other periods of life have been investigated. As a young field of study, the research lacks the rigor and comprehensiveness necessary to build illuminating theory. Mid-life needs to be studied within the context of the years which precede and the years which follow that period of the life span. Longitudinal studies of samples stratified by sex, job characteristics, work environment, career opportunities, geographic region, and the socio-economic situation of the individual are needed. In addition, the field would benefit from intensive case-studies which describe the career experiences of people from a wide range of socio-economic and employment backgrounds.

"Mid-life crisis," and the other changes that have been proposed as part of middle age, may be part of a self-fulfilling prophecy. Ages 35, 40, 45, and 50 are considered times of transition by society.

> The individual passes through a socially regulated cycle from birth to death as inexorably as he passes through the biological cycle: a succession of socially delineated age-statuses, each with its recognized rights, duties, and obligations.
>
> (Neugarten, 1976, p. 16)

Special birthdays and age-related humor serve to reinforce the social traditions. Literature, such as Passages (Sheehy, 1976) and The Seasons of a Man's Life (Levinson, et al., 1978) which have had popular appeal, lend scientific support to the folk wisdom about midlife. Expectations are created and maintained for the conflict and trauma that are attributed to middle age.

IMPLICATIONS FOR EDUCATION AND WORK

Individualization of Educational Programs

Education has an important role to play in the career development of middle aged adults. First, educators must accept that learning is a developmental process which can be facilitated by targeting programs at the needs of adults in various life stages (Weathersby and Tarule, 1980). Once there is acceptance of this value there are steps which higher education institutions can take to facilitate development (Weathersby and Tarule, 1980):

> (1) identify the groups and variety of students to be served; (2) become sensitive to their goals and learning needs viewed from the broad and specific perspectives of human development; (3) define educational aims at least partially as promoting individual development; and (4) then reexamine the areas of program development and strategy, curriculum and teaching methods, faculty development and evaluation, and counseling and support services. (p. 51)

Lowther (1977) has argued that higher education institutions should be more responsive to the needs of middle aged adults seeking a career change. He suggests that adult students could be better assisted through changes in admissions, counseling, curriculum development, instructional delivery, placement, and research activities which take into consideration the special needs of this group.

It is important to note that although the life-stage approach to understanding adult behavior is helpful, adults must be treated as individuals. A program targeted at the stability and security needs of some middle aged adults will miss the mark for adults who are in need of challenge and risk-taking. A program targeted at matching middle aged adults with extrinsically rewarding careers will miss the mark for adults seeking instrinsically rewarding careers. Higher education must recognize the diversity among adults of all ages, including traditional and non-traditional students.

Life-Span Career Development

Adult development is really a life-span problem. The values and beliefs formed during childhood shape the attitudes that one has toward middle age. Also, the skills that are learned early in life will have application throughout one's career. The person who learns career exploration skills (self-assessment, job search, interviewing, etc.) during adolescence will have relatively little trouble applying these skills as they are needed during adulthood. It is the absence of these skills, rather than age itself, which may bring on conflict and trauma during middle age. If a child is taught, either overtly or covertly, that being 40 is "over the hill" and that youth is valued more highly than age, that child will likely have a difficult time making the transition into mid-life. Therefore, the career development of adults begins with the career education of children. Ways must be found to prepare youth for the aging process. Both curriculum and counseling could help us realize this goal.

Elimination of Age Bias

The response is heard again and again when middle aged people are presented with new challenges: "I'm too old!" People are biased against learning new skills or making risky life changes at a time in their life when they feel they should be preparing for decline and retirement. Quite often the children are grown and out of the house; there is some financial stability in the family; a social support system has been formed; and the individual has developed the ability and maturity to adapt to new situations. The opportunity for change has never been greater. Middle age may be the best time to finish an undergraduate college degree or to attend a graduate or professional school. Unfortunately, misconceptions and fear often prevent this process from occurring.

On the other side, there is age bias among educators, too, and this can keep motivated adults from attending college. There are graduate and professional programs which continue to reject applications from older adults, particularly those who achieved a below standard GPA while in school 10 to 20 years previously. There is reason to believe that many of these adults have the experiences and motivation which would give them a higher probability of success than the much younger, career student (Weathersby and Tarule, 1980). Students and faculty need to be informed about the nature of the myths that are generally believed regarding age.

Employers must also be confronted regarding their age bias. The 50 year old worker may have 20 productive years left in his or her occupation (Rosow and Zager, 1980) while the traditionally more attractive, mobile, 22 year old will probably leave his or her job after just a few years. It may be more beneficial to an employer to keep the older worker than to hire the younger one. Rosow and Zager (1980) recommend "age neutrality" in the work place. This does not mean being insensitive to the age related needs of workers, but it does mean not attributing qualities to a particular individual solely because of age.

Changing the Work Environment

Finally, the conclusions of this paper have implications for the work environment itself. Hall (1976) and Schein (1978) recommend that organizations be involved in ongoing career development with their employees. They argue that the organization will benefit from being responsive to the kinds of needs that may emerge during mid-life. A worker who has an increasing need for job security and a growing fear of obsolescence might be helped by the updating of old skills and the learning of new ones, or by giving that person a role in "mentoring" of younger employees. However, any organizational response to the needs of mid-life should occur with an awareness of the great diversity among individuals, some who need change and some who need stability.

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